

283093

JPRS-NEA-85-103

12 August 1985

## Near East/South Asia Report

19980226 161

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12 August 1985

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

## LIBYAN AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION VISITS SUDAN

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 3 Jun 85 p 4

[Text] The ice has melted between Khartoum and Tripoli, the clouds have dispersed and it is clear again. Today Khartoum is opening its arms to its Arab and African brothers, with whom it has a common path and destiny.

In a quiet room in the Hilton Hotel, we met and welcomed one another with warm embraces. We sat in a circle around cups of tea, talking, welcoming them in the name of the Khartoum of October . . talking. I start: And March and April ..

My words were cut short by Mr. Muhammad Farkashi, director of the Libyan Center for Agricultural Research, who said: We are an agricultural delegation. We were ready to come to you at any time, and now you have given us entry visas by the will of your great people.

We came to extend to you a helping hand. With the agreement of the two sides, Sudanese and Libyan, we met with your agricultural officials and discussed the famine, the drought, and the absence of rain, and we proposed that we offer you an immediate plan to grow sorghum in the Nubian mountains covering an area of 80,000 hectares.

Because of this -- Comrade Farkash was saying -- this project will need equipment, supplies and financing, and therefore our people's conferences have decided to provide the financing for this project. We will send equipment from Libya by sea, and we asked the officials to make equipment and supplies available in the Sudanese market, and we will do the buying, so that the project will be presented as a gift, as a symbol of brotherhood and our joint struggle. It is a project for prompt assistance.

Farkash went on: Libya will aid the Sudanese economy in order to establish agricultural integration between the two countries, and Libyan agricultural aviation will take part in this national task.

Comrade Farkash went on to say: We have with us here Dr. 'Amir, a representative of the agricultural investment company. He has come to propose to you agricultural investment plans that would benefit both Libya and the Sudan.

We will offer you expertise and the facts concerning developments in agricultural investment, and there are plans that are ready to be implemented. However, we are not forgetting that we will also benefit from your expertise, for your land is pregnant with superior agricultural specializations. We will take expertise from you, and we will give you expertise.

#### Humble Ambassador Has Words

In the middle of the talk, Mr. Jum'ah Fazan, head of the Libyan diplomatic corps in Khartoum, came in.

Jum'ah said to me: The essential thing is to move effectively against the Sudanese problem. There must be production and fuel. Libya will take upon itself to provide what is needed for agriculture. We will provide fertilizer, seed, reapers and all expenses. We will provide you with fuel for 3 months as a gift, and the contract is renewable.

The ambassador went on: The colonel has promised your leadership that agricultural integration will be built upon an economic basis, a glory to the two countries. We will expand with you in the cultivation of acreages of wheat, sorghum, tea and fruit. In addition to that, we will work hard to stimulate cultural relations. There is a joint committee, and 13 airplanes have arrived, making up an air bridge to bring needed and urgent supplies.

#### The Air Bridge

The ambassador went on: We have placed at your disposal four airplanes to transport aid and supplies to the areas that are suffering, and a health team from the Libyan Arab Crescent has arrived here. It gave out medicines and other things, and agreement was reached on sending Libyan Arab medical teams to the Sudan.

I will add to that that there are trucks that will come by way of al-Kufrah Malit, and some of those trucks will remain as a gift to your great people.

I said to my comrade the ambassador: We also offer to you cups of Nile water, the cups of good faith, and we open up to you all areas possible of our land.

Ambassador Jum'ah al-Fazan went on: We did all we could to confront the deposed tyrant. We supported all Sudanese opposition sides and tendencies at home and abroad, and the Jamahiri revolutionary leadership did not haggle over this fundamental stance. At the same time, some Arab regimes were supporting the regime of the deposed murderer, and some were not ashamed to hand over fighters to him. Al-Numayri humiliated your people with his links to world political, military, and economic imperialism; indeed he attacked your national positions, for he allowed the Falashas to emigrate, the Falashas who represent a human support for the Zionist entity and which will take part in fulfilling Zionist strategy in the Arab nation. The tyrant humiliated Khartoum, the capital of resistance; indeed he wanted to turn the country into a nuclear waste dump that would threaten future generations with its nuclear radiations. During 16 years he liquidated 40,000 citizens.

## Services of Libyan Agricultural Aviation

Muhammad al-Zughaybi, general director of Libyan Agricultural Aviation, said: We came to help the Sudanese. We came to work with them and to meet their needs in the field of agricultural aviation, which we will use to spray pesticides on irrigated and rain fed lands, and also to get clouds -- "synthetic rain."

We carefully studied the requirements of agricultural aviation, including spare parts and technicians, and we have made arrangements for these requirements. We have procured six spraying airplanes for the current season; they will arrive soon with their Libyan crews. We can train pilots in the Sudan to carry out the work in this field.

Two other airplanes will come to bring clouds and synthetic rain. Our experience in this field is at your disposal, and we will benefit from your experience within the framework of cooperation between the two sides, and we are ready to confront the problem of training Sudanese in certain areas of expertise in the field of aviation outside of the Sudan.

## Relief Program to Protect Against and Combat Plagues

Muhammad al-Zughaybi, very optimistically, sketched the distinguishing features of the cooperation plan between the Sudan and the Libyan Jamahiriyyah. He said to me: Our aim in this program is to take part in combatting current and anticipated plagues, and to work towards solving the problems of equipment and transportation means, and to supply pesticides at the appropriate time and quickly. We shall have a joint company to get things going, in view of it being a fundamental step towards future cooperation. We will meet your needs for airplanes in the near future, because we in the Jamahiriyyah have an enormous supply of agricultural airplanes which we can use to help in spraying operations and combatting locusts.

The speaker went on: We are now involved in beginning to establish a joint aviation company to meet the Sudan's agricultural needs. Crews and equipment will be supplied by the Jamahiriyyah. This is all the program that we agreed upon with the Sudanese Ministry of Agriculture.

## Libyan-Sudanese Arab Company

I turn with my papers to Dr. 'Amir Ghamid, representative of the Libyan Agricultural Investment Company. I turned to him, but he spoke before me, quietly and intelligently; According to the talks between Libyan and Sudanese officials, the Libyan-Sudanese Arab Company will be established to make some investments in the field of agricultural production.

The speaker said: We have learned about some agricultural projects in the irrigated and rain fed sectors, and we have looked into them, including projects for the production of rice, vegetables, fruits, chickens and fodder. The Libyan delegation will study these projects, and then it will do economic feasibility studies on them. After that will come the phase of selecting strategic economical projects that will produce quickly in order to solve the crisis of subsistence that is facing the Sudan.

Company's Capital \$25 Million

Dr. 'Amir went on: We have agreed to establish the Libyan-Sudanese company with a capital of \$25 million, and the implementation of the projects connected with it will begin during the upcoming weeks.

In the visiting Libyan economic delegation, we are now studying the possibility of importing surplusses of Sudanese products such as meat, cotton and other goods to the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

I asked Dr. 'Amir what they had studied with the Sudanese side -- problems of the larger Sudanese projects, such as al-Jazirah, al-Manaqil, al-Rahad and others?

Dr. 'Amir said: We are discussing this matter in order to decide on the possibility of using the company for the larger projects that have been unable to be financed and utilized. The company will take over the proposed projects that have stopped because of economic ills, and then it will study a plan to finance them.

Relations Between the Revolutionary Committees and the State of Libya

Dr. 'Amir ended his thought-filled talk, and there remained before me a confusing question that I wished to inject into the conversation. The question concerned the relation or link the revolutionary committees and those economic delegations, and how my side could explain the Libyan equation for the committees as an ideological entity on the one hand, and the Libyan state and its economic institutions on the other, so that the features of this difficult equation could be recognized, and so that it will not be said that we in the Sudan have eaten from a dish that has been overwhelmed by the odor of ideological spice!

The humble ambassador, Jum'ah al-Fazan, interrupted the talk saying: Al-Qadhdhafi's theory is the Third Universal Theory that has presented itself to the world, as other world theories, such as communism and others, were presented before it. This Third Universal Theory has revolutionary committees at the international level, and these committees were formed through the will of those who formed them, and such were not dictated to them at all, as are the other universal theories its springs are left to flow, and he who wants to may believe, and he who wants to may disbelieve. I will add -- the ambassador was saying -- that the universal theory springs from the revolutionary committees, which do not hesitate to support opposition movements in every state where the spectre of dictatorship hovers. The mission of these committees is to urge the masses to make decisions, and not to come to power.

On the relation of the Sudanese revolutionary committees to the Libyan state, Dr. 'Amir said: We believe in freedom of thought, and the Third Universal Theory is the summation of human thought. Brother Colonel al-Qadhdhafi has studied all universal theories, and he extracted from them his Third Theory which cannot be contained in this amount of paper. But in any case, our theory is based on democracy and socialism, and we call for giving complete power to the people. This theory has been adopted by groups at the international and regional level, and twenty international symposia have been held in the largest universities of the world, all of which revolved around the intellectual aspects of this theory.



I would like to assure you, as we have often said, that the task of the revolutionary committees is to incite the masses to revolt and take power. We take into consideration the question of parties and the possibility that they may depart from the citizens' issues and from solving their problems, and go far away in their struggles, in which frequently the rights of people are completely lost. Therefore, we reject partisanship, because it is contrary to the principle of the people taking over power.

Going back, I will say to you that the relationship of the Sudanese revolutionary committees with the Libyan state is an ideological one which came about by the will of these committees and it was not dictated to them. Consequently, the Libyan state, which believes in freedom of thought, does not oppose the people accepting the theory of their leader. At the same time, it does not dictate conditions when this theory is accepted. Dr. 'Amir went on to say: Our application of the revolutionary theory has made great strides, and we have reached the advanced stages of socialist, economic, and development application. We continue to call for the people to possess the power, resources and weapons, and to control the distribution of the individual's needs, for in need there is freedom and in freedom there is happiness.

Dr. 'Amir's last words were: We are ready to open intellectual groups to discuss the Third Universal Theory in the universities, institutions, and cultural clubs, for it is an idea that can be discussed and debated. However, we will not impose our thought on anyone, and we do not link it to the economic cooperation that we talked about.

Leaving in the Still of the Night

I looked at the clock, and I saw that it was 1 a.m. of the following day, and I felt that my pen would like to rest with me a while!

As I left, I wondered whether the captains in Khartoum and Tripoli would be able to pilot the ship of good relations safely to the shore of popular cooperation and economic cooperation.

12547

CSO: 4504/391

EGYPT

# RESIGNATION OF MUFTI URGED FOLLOWING CONTROVERSIAL STATEMENT

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 16 Jun 85 p 18

[Commentary by Ahmad Baha'-al-Din]

[Text] Why doesn't His Eminence 'Abd-al-Latif Hamzah, mufti of the Arab Republic of Egypt, resign his post?

I realize that the word "resignation" has a strange ring to it and that it has come to be considered unthinkable. The fact is, however, that resignation is an honorable act which is performed by responsible persons for registering disagreement over a certain matter, admitting to an error, preserving the dignity of an office or out of awareness of the difficult situation in which he has put the organization with which he is affiliated.

The mufti has issued a statement regarding the nullification of fasting which we do not wish to repeat. He alluded to cases of strange sexual deviance and to unimaginable instances such as eating Armenian bole and other kinds of clay, with the result of drawing criticism for this strange statement from various quarters.

Although it was said that His Eminence will issue a declaration, none has been forthcoming. His statement was published on the third of Ramadan, which is now nearing its end, but no explanation or clarification has followed.

I will not use Europe as an example, as is usually done, but it seems that Black Africa realizes the dignity of resignation better than we do. One example is the past president and founding father of Senegal, the internationally renowned Leopold Senghor, who voluntarily resigned the presidency and now moves about freely enjoying a world wide reputation.

Another example is the founder and independence leader of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, who at age 64 enjoys good health. I heard him say in the Swedish media that he would resign before the end of the year, so he would feel reassured seeing his country's affairs function without him. Only then would he know whether he has been a success or a failure.

What has originated from the Grand Mufti's office, which must maintain its dignity and respect, has undoubtedly done harm to that dignified image



in people's minds and to the image of true Islam. After that, how can people trust what comes out of that great office on various aspects of their lives and sometimes even their persons when judicial papers are referred to the mufti?

If he resigns he will have set a noble precedent, sparing his office a great embarrassment with which he has burdened his institution and regaining the freedom of defending his personal views. Or is it possible that resignation among us is still considered an act of fools?

12979

CSO: 4504/390

EGYPT

# CONFISCATED PROPERTIES IN ABU-AL-FATH CASE RETURNED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 May 85 pp 1, 6

[Article: "Ruling of the High Administrative Court: Return of Abu-al-Fath Family Property, Absence of Decision To Suspend Permit of AL-MISRI Newspaper"]

[Text] The High Administrative Court of the Council of State has ruled that the Abu-al-Fath family should be given back 863,704 pounds, 3,610 square meters of land belonging to al-Misri Press on Qasr al-'Ayni Street and in Dayr al-Nahhas in Misr al-Qadimah, 2 feddans of agricultural land, jewelry, works of art, and postage stamps which were deposited at the Central Bank, in addition to 1 piaster as compensation for the proceeds of the money and property which were confiscated in 1954.

With regard to the repeal of a decision to withdraw the permit from AL-MISRI newspaper, the Court ruled to dismiss the suit on grounds that no such decision was ever made. Rather, the newspaper stopped being published voluntarily following the sentencing of its publisher to prison and the confiscation of his financial assets during the time he was abroad. Thus, because no decision to withdraw the permit was ever issued, there was nothing to be overturned.

During yesterday's session, with Justice Jalal Qasim presiding and 'Abd-al-Mun'im Hilmi as secretary, the court ruled that, in addition to compensation, the following should be returned:

-- The interest accrued from the disposal of the money by the Confiscated Monies Liquidation Department in the amount of 313,654 pounds.

-- The property which was not disposed of and which amounts to 531.25 square meters of land belonging to al-Misri Press on Qasr al-'Ayni and 3,079 square meters in Dayr al-Nahhas.

-- Two feddans of agricultural land in the town of al-Shuhada' in al-Minufiyah.

-- 550,050 pounds, the value of personal property, works of art, and furniture, which belonged to the estate of the late Mahmud Abu-al-Fath, as appraised by a committee of experts due to a lack of evidence as to the whereabouts of this property.

The court noted that in the early days, when the revolution was striving to achieve its basic goal of change, rules of legality did not follow their normal course or find a flourishing atmosphere. However, when normalcy was restored following the formation of the 1956 Constitution, the rules of legality should have been in effect.

12979

CSO: 4504/390

EGYPT

## MARITAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Jun 85 p 18

[Commentary by 'Ahmad Baha'-al-Din]

[Text] We all know that legal marriage in Islam has two simple, basic cornerstones: response and acceptance, and public announcement, accomplished by means of two witnesses before the advent of justices of the peace, registries and real estate records.

The time was when two witnesses were enough for an entire tribe, town or village to learn of the marriage.

"Public announcement" [al-'alaniyah] is a fundamental, general condition for marriage in Islam. Consequently, the first to know of the second marriage was the first wife. In the logic of Islam, no wife can ever be ignorant of the existence of another wife.

But in today's world, it has become possible for a man to marry four wives, in a city of 10 million people, without one wife knowing about the others! Neither the letter nor the spirit of Islam allows for this "secret life," and therefore the requirement that the husband inform his first wife of the second wife implements the rulings, spirit and moral precepts of our religion. Anything to the contrary, as is claimed by some ultraconservatives who are trading on the ignorance of the simpleminded, does not hold.

Speaking of the right to a divorce because of damage, there is much talk about those circumstances when the women outnumber the men because of war, when it is better for the wife to stay with another wife than to be out on the street. No one has said that the wife is obliged to demand a divorce! Surely she would consider her circumstances and weigh her interests. Here in Egypt we give her the "right" to a divorce if she so desires it, but she will never want to do so unless she feels some harm, which would surely be physical, psychological, mental or social harm. Such considerations are never appreciated except by whoever is undergoing such a situation. There is no Qur'anic text or prophetic tradition which speaks of the relationship among wives without describing it as "amicable," "benevolent," or "tranquil." This totally repudiates the notion of a wife's being forced to live with a man against her will, with all the harmful effects on the children which would result.

It was said in the committee that the husband has the right to marry a second time if his first wife is old, ill or childless. This is certainly his right, but surely it is also her right to demand a divorce. This does not restrict his marital rights; rather, it restricts his right to force another wife to live a life she does not want. What true "masculinity" could ever accept such coercion?

8559

CSO: 4504/400

EGYPT

# TRAINING PROGRAMS TO BE OFFERED TO IMAMS

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 26 Jun 85 p 8

[Article by Sa'id Hilwa: "Training Programs For Imams and Preachers"]

[Text] The Waqfs Ministry has decided to offer training courses to imams and preachers when they are first appointed by the ministry or when they take over certain leadership positions within the Islamic Call agency. Fifteen new centers will be established in the various governorates to train preachers.

Waqfs Minister Dr al-ahmadi 'Abu-al-Nur announced that the training program prepared by the ministry will aim for decentralization, and will make use of existing religious, Islamic Call, Shari'ah and law colleges in some of the governorates.

The minister said that right now the ministry is considering establishing a new advanced center in Cairo to train preachers, which will be equipped with the latest audio-visual equipment, will cost 200,000 Egyptian pounds, and will serve all levels of preachers. At present the ministry is also studying how it can prepare other teachers not employed by the ministry and confirm their suitability for this huge mission, either by making it easy for them to obtain publications or by setting aside special training centers for them.

He added that the ministry has already begun working with non-government training agencies, by agreement with some universities, in order to provide more imams and preachers. The ministry will utilize the resources available to it, the universities will pay the professors' and teachers' salaries, and the ministry will pay for the books.

In another context, several decrees have been issued incorporating 75 mosques in 13 governorates into the ministry.

8559  
CSO: 4504/400

EGYPT

# LONG-TERM SCHOOL BUILDING PROJECT DESCRIBED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 1 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by 'Abd-al-Hadi Tamam: "2 Billion Egyptian Pounds Allocated For Construction of 9,745 Schools Over the Next 10 Years"]

[Text] Minister of Education Dr 'Abd-al-Salam 'Abd-al-Ghaffar has announced that it has been decided to allocate 2 Billion Egyptian pounds for the construction of 9,745 schools over the next 10 years, and that 25 committees consisting of 500 university professors and advisors are assembling and collating school curricula in accordance with the best methodology. The curricula for all stages of education, from elementary to secondary, have been re-written; some of them have been already printed, and those remaining will be printed before the start of the new school year. During yesterday's meeting of Cairo Governorate's Local Council, chaired by 'Abd-al-Latif Baltiyah and observed by Cairo Governor Yusuf Sabri Abu-Talib, the minister said that the ministry plans to achieve the following educational distribution: 30 percent general secondary education, 35 percent industrial education, 27 percent commercial education, and 8 percent agricultural education. He said that it has been decided to distribute this year's preparatory school graduates according to these percentages.

The minister added that self-help is an effective element in school construction, for citizens have collected 70 million pounds for this purpose. This sum will be added to the 93 million pounds already allocated for school construction. This year 400 schools have been built, besides the 223 schools built through self-help. One citizen donated 1 million pounds to build an industrial education school. It has been decided to establish a national authority for self-help school building, and to allocate 50 million pounds in the new budget, which begins today, for teaching activity allowances, whereby an elementary school teacher will get 10 pounds a month during the school year, a preparatory teacher 15 pounds, and a secondary teacher 20 pounds. The minister said that 3 years from now the educational system in Egypt will have changed completely. Directives have been issued that any school operating on a single-shift basis must follow the full school day system. He said that education should not mean that the students memorize their lessons and then graduate at the end of the year; the intention should be to bring up the new generation to fear God, adhere to non-fanatic values and principles, and be a good example to society.

Deputy to the Cairo Local People's Assembly and Chairman of the Assembly's Education Committee al-Sayyid 'Ali al-Imam explained that it has been suggested that each elementary student pay 1 pound as a building fee, with students in subsequent stages paying 2 pounds. The council asked that supplemental fees on the profits of service companies and organizations be submitted to the school building fund, and recommended that any student who is absent from school without an excuse or who is disorderly be expelled.

8559

CSO: 4504/400



12 August 1985

EGYPT

## MEASURES AGAINST FRUIT FLIES AROUSE PEASANT MISTRUST

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 27 Jun 85 p 24

[Commentary by Anis Mansur]

[Text] Fear and mistrust of the government is age-old, dating back to Pharaonic times. Thus the Egyptian peasant is like a fox; the one conceals his fear with his cunning, while the other conceals it behind pretended incomprehension.

The relationship between the state agencies and the peasants is the greatest proof of this.

Several days ago, an agricultural engineer in charge of the distribution of fruit fly traps, who sets up these traps according to an agreement with an international atomic authority, came to me. This small insect with colored wings is widespread in Egypt and the Mediterranean countries. The female inserts her pointed abdomen into the fruit and lays eggs, which turn into larvae which nibble away at the fruit. The larvae drop to the ground and turn into pupae, from which the tiny flies emerge.

The latest treatment is to irradiate the males, so that the female lays unfertilized eggs which don't hatch.

In order to find out how many fruit flies there are in the fields, the state sets up, at 1-kilometer intervals, small traps baited with bits of cotton soaked with male scent solution. The female comes to them and then falls into a sticky substance.

From the number of females, the number of flies in the area can be approximated. An agricultural engineer collects the traps each week.

Some peasants have rejected the whole idea, considering it a trick thought up by the engineers to fleece them of their money, even though no one has asked any money from them. Many peasants have taken to hiding these traps or putting dirt in them. Thus the agricultural engineers are required to explain

the traps over and over again at great length, without receiving any help from radio or television.

Five minutes a day on the radio would save hundreds of engineers from heartache, and would eliminate the mistrust which dates back to the first government ever established in Egypt!

8559

CSO: 4504/400

12 August 1985

EGYPT

## ATTITUDES TOWARD JOURNALISTS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 17 Jun 85 p 1

[Editorial by Ibrahim Nafi': "Irresponsible and Unacceptable Talk"]

[Text] I am asking permission to publish this article in al-Ahram as well as in MAYU for the purpose of discussing a matter which may seem to be of a private occupational nature related to journalism but which in reality concerns not only journalists, but also other more general and inclusive issues relating to respect for writers and thinkers in a society which is striving to foster the freedom of speech and to deepen democratic practice.

This is a time when we see the national as well as the partisan press, regardless of some minor errors and excesses, faithfully shouldering their responsibility of representing the views of this society with all its currents and groupings, of highlighting and reinforcing the positive while fighting the negative, of opening their pages to opposing views to guarantee the right of response to all, and of taking a supportive or an opposing position based on a nationalist viewpoint which cannot be denied by any fair minded person. At this very time, a minister with responsibility comes out with irresponsible and unacceptable words which reflect on the dignity of journalists and the press by giving a naive generalization which arouses anger and surprise, especially since this statement comes from one of those who are expected to weigh their words and judgments before uttering them.

What is also surprising is that these expressions, which touch upon the dignity of journalists and which originated from a responsible minister, do not reflect the attitude of the government or the leadership of the National Party toward either the national or the partisan press or toward journalists in general. What I, and everyone else, knows is that the political leadership in Egypt believes in the patriotism of the national and the partisan press as it has publicly declared its appreciation for the patriotism of supportive and opposing journalists alike on more than one occasion.

I know that the political leadership in Egypt and the government of the National Party are concerned for assisting and supporting the Egyptian press in its struggle for evolution and modernization. They are currently studying a comprehensive memorandum concerning the condition of the press, the problems of its financial structure, and problems relating to working

journalists in order to make decisions and find solutions to some of the problems facing Egyptian journalism. One of the most important of these problems is the attempt by the Arab press to polarize Egyptian writers, talents and technical capabilities by means of substantial material incentives.

We all realize that the political leadership sincerely hopes that the Egyptian press will solve some of its technical problems so it can perform its pioneering role of enlightening, educating and informing which it has championed in the Arab region for over a century.

Who, then, does this minister represent by the position taken in his statement about the press and journalists in Egypt? What is the justification for offering such a declaration, if that is the case, by a minister who is responsible for the People's Assembly and the Shura Council and among the most important of whose duties is the protection of free expression, respecting the opinions of others, encouraging democratic practice, and respecting those who oppose or disagree with him.

If these statements are not true, then it is the duty of this minister to issue a declaration explaining his stand on this serious matter. If such a declaration is not made, then it will be necessary to take a stand, not only with respect to this minister, but also with regard to all who hold such a wrong view of the Egyptian press.

In the final analysis, Egyptian journalists do not need the testimonial of an official who cannot speak of their loyalty and honesty, for they have presented their case and a testimonial of their sacrifices before and on a number of occasions to the Egyptian people whose causes, hopes, and suffering they have adopted over the years. They have also offered their martyrs whose blood was spilled on battlegrounds in the wars that Egypt fought, and they have helped the people of their country in times of difficulty and in periods of peace.

The testimonial of people is the most enduring and everlasting--always. And the testimonial of the legitimate political leadership, which truthfully expresses the hopes and pains of its people, is the loftier and more sublime--always.

12979

CSO: 4504/390

EGYPT

BRIEFS

CHIEF EDITORS APPOINTED--In yesterday's session chaired by Dr Subhi 'Abd-al-Hakim, the Consultative Council approved the appointments made by the council's General Committee for chief editors for the country's newspapers for the next 4 years beginning 28 June 1985. No changes were made in these editorial positions. An AL-AHRAM correspondent has learned that the newspaper editorial board members will be officially appointed during the next session of the Consultative Council. The following chief editors for the country's newspapers were approved by the council: AL-AHRAM, Ibrahim Nafi'; AKHBAR AL-YAWM, Tal'at Husayn al-Zuhayri; AL-TAHRIR, 'Abd-al-Muhsin Muhammad 'Abd-al-Muhsin; ROSE AL-YUSUF, 'Abd-al-'Aziz Khamis; AL-HILAL, Mukarram Muhammad Ahmad; AL-MA'ARIF, Muhammad Salah-al-Din Muntasir; AL-TA'AWUN, Mamduh Rida; Middle East News Agency, Mustafa Najib; and National Distribution Company, Husayn al-Ghamri. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Jun 85 p 1] 8559

CSO: 4504/400

IRAQ

BAGHDAD TV COMMENTARY ON HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI TOUR

GF111120 Baghdad Television Service in Persian 0845 GMT 11 Jul 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text Esteemed viewers: Self-sacrificing and vigilant sons of the Iranian nation! Undoubtedly you have also heard Hashemi-Rafsanjani's babbling after his return from his 10-day visit to the PRC and Japan and are aware of the situation. This nonsensical babbling further confirmed the despicable and shameless nature of this filthy element who is an embodiment of foolish pride and has a sick narcissistic mentality. After arriving at Tehran airport, Hashemi-Rafsanjani pulled out all stops and began waxing eloquent on the details of his visit. A responsible official like him should have first reported to the government and the president and then he could have allowed himself to say anything about the details of his unsuccessful visit. This should have been done by first compiling his observations in accordance with the government's policy and guidelines of the president.

But it appears that this is impossible for Hashemi-Rafsanjani whose president is 'Ali Khamene'i and prime minister is Musavi-Khamene'i and with whom his differences and in fact enmity has increased. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, this despicable, dirtythinking, and malicious element wishes to convince you, the people of Iran, with these hasty utterances that he is the most powerful figure in the ruling party of Iran.

Now you, the patriotic, selfsacrificing, and just offspring of the Iranian nation who have endured all these trials and tribulations, disappointments, deprivation, and hardships inflicted upon you by the regime of the theocratic tyrants and the criminal mullahs' coterie, are you ready to listen to the gibberish and (?nonsense) of Hashemi-Rafsanjani and other big- and small-turbaned ones of the mullahs' regime? Yes. With a band of saboteurs among you who have driven hundreds of thousands of dear fathers and sons to the jaws of annihilation and destruction and have disabled hundreds of your youths and have consigned them to their homes minus their limbs, how can you offer a hand of friendship? As a famous saying goes: "You killed the father and sowed the seeds of discord, how can you pacify these whose father you have killed?"

Hashemi-Rafsanjani is one of the official archcriminals of this regime and knows nothing except reciting verses and twirling rosary beads in praise of Khomeyni and paying him compliments. He does not deserve to be the representative of the people of Iran or the falsehood-disseminating spokesman of the government and the nation.

In any case, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the audacious, exaggerating liar, spews from his filthy mouth whatever hatches in his hollow skull! His (?habit) is to speak in a disjointed and rambling manner and [word indistinct]. Hence his garrulousness has the opposite effect instead of making a positive impression on the listener. It is obvious that the talkative nature of the chanters of the Iranian rulers cannot prevent the imminent end to the lives of these destructive arsonist rulers.

CSO: 4400/202

ISRAEL

NEW BOOK ON STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF PRESS

On Military Censorship

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 5 Apr 85 pp 12-14 (weekend supplement)

[Article from book "Paper Tiger" by Moshe Negbi: "The Original Sin"]

[Text] On military censorship--first publication from Moshe Negbi's book PAPER TIGER, to be published by Sifriyat HaPoalim's current events series in coming months. The book surveys the history of the struggle for freedom of the press in Israel, the revolution in the establishment's attitude toward the media following the Yom Kippur War, and the dramatic expression of the revolution during the Lebanon war.

The mandate authorities are responsible, among other things, for the behavior of military censorship in our country. The censorship has extensive rights and thus constitutes a very real threat to the proper functioning of a free and active press. No one disputes the fact that military censorship is necessary in the State of Israel. Despite its great importance, freedom of the press is not an absolute value, and there are other, equally important, values that require and justify limitations to this freedom, the first among them being national security. All democratic states recognize the need for defense censorship in times of war in order to prevent the publication of information that may endanger the lives of their troops on the battlefield or help the enemy army. This need is even stronger for a country like Israel, which has had to fight five difficult wars since its establishment, and most of whose neighbors still declare their wish to destroy it. Despite all this, it is important to remember that this situation has engendered a conflict between two important values, security and democracy, both of which are equally vital for the existence and prosperity of the state. Thus, even if there is a clear justification in principle for the existence of defense censorship, it is still necessary to examine whether the censorship is limited solely to the most important military topics.

The danger posed by censorship to freedom of the press does not stem from the existence of the former per se, but from all too frequent deviations from the purely military area. The "military" or "defense" character of censorship in our country is demonstrated by the fact that the chief censor is an



army officer, but its criteria are sometimes far from being purely military, Dr Miron Margini, former director of the Government Press Office, frankly admits that press censorship is sometimes affected by "political considerations."

Political considerations in military censorship date back to the period before the establishment of the state. The British mandate authorities openly pursued their declared policy of suppressing freedom of the press, and did nothing to limit the prerogatives of the military censor in any clear or unequivocal manner. According to the mandate law, which is still valid today, the censor has the right to prohibit the publication of any information which "may harm, in his view, the defense of the country, public safety, or public order." There is no doubt that such a general and foggy definition enables the censor to act on the basis of considerations and motives that may not be purely military (since information on expected economic measures, a sharp opposition article, or a report on political demonstrations may also be viewed as likely to "harm public order"). Moreover, the law says that the censor's subjective opinion is decisive. His decision is not required to stand up to the test of objective arguments; it is sufficient if in his view a certain report or article may harm public safety or order. In such circumstances, it is difficult even for the High Court of Justice to interfere with the decisions of the "military" censorship. Small wonder that so far appeals against the censor's decisions (the details of which are restricted according to the law of censorship) have been rejected and that the High Court of Justice has not found any legal way of overturning its decisions.

In point of fact, the decisions of the "military" censor are also immune to public criticism. The law forbids the press to publish "any statement or hint as to changes, additions, or deletions ordered by the censor." This restriction exacerbates even more the danger that the censorship may stray from its military purpose. Precisely because of the extensive prerogatives accorded by the law to the censor's judgment, it is important that the public should know how this judgment is implemented and should be assured that censorship is applied only to reports or articles dealing with purely military matters. However, as we said before, the law prohibits any newspaper hint that the censor may have ordered the deletion of any portion of a report or article. This regulation is apparently too much for the journalists, and readers of Israeli newspapers sometimes come upon "white spots" that indicate censorship. At other times, newsmen risk an even more serious violation of the law by actually mentioning censorship interference. During the soul-searching period that followed the Yom Kippur War, HA'ARETZ published a 7-line item on its front page under the titillating title: "The IDF High Command Examines the Lessons of the Yom Kippur War." At the end of the item, in bold letters, stood: "The military censorship deleted 99 percent of the report of the military correspondent, and yesterday permitted the publication of the above only."

## Draconian Prerogatives

The mandate authorities did not content themselves with granting almost complete immunity to the censor against court or public criticism. They went one step further and gave him the right to personally and severely punish any newspaper that, in his view, violated his instructions. The punishment in question is an immediate administration sanction and does not require permission or indictment by a court of justice. According to the law, the censor may stop forthwith the publication of a newspaper that, in his view, has committed a censorship violation, and may confiscate its printing presses. This prerogative, which the censor does sometimes use in practice, is in addition to the right of the minister of the interior and the district authority to close down newspapers whose contents they do not like.

These draconian rights were not granted to the censor without a clear intention. It was done with premeditation in order to invest the censor with complete freedom to prohibit any journalistic publication, not necessarily connected to security, that may fan the fire of government opposition.

The government of the independent State of Israel continued to take advantage of the extensive rights of the censor for purposes other than military. In August 1948 the military censor prohibited the publication of a report on a hunger strike staged by five ETZEL members (among them two of the leaders of the organization, Ya'akov Meridor and Hillel Kook), who were protesting their detention by the IDF authorities without trial. YEDI'OT AHARONOT defied the censor and was immediately punished: Its printing house was closed down for 3 days.

The Hebrew press, which had greatly suffered from such arbitrary treatment under the mandate, was not prepared to accept it even when it came from a high ranking officer in the new army of their independent state. Consequently, press editors met with the prime minister and minister of defense, David Ben-Gurion, and sharply protested the censor's behavior. In his reply to the editors--which referred mainly to an affair concerning immoral behavior by IDF soldiers--Ben-Gurion revealed his well-known concept on the educational and, in his words, "constructive" role of the press. His approach was that an uncrystallized people (or army) like ours should not know the whole truth.

The press editors remained unconvinced by this argument and persisted in their request to repeal the mandate censorship law and replace it with an original Israeli law that restricts the censor's rights to defense matters only. The prime minister listened to their plea and promised that "soon we will publish a law limiting censorship to defense matters; a newspaper violating the censorship law will not be called to account by the censor, but by a court of law"; he went even further and suggested that the editors prepare a list of candidates from among whom the censor would be elected, a censor who would act according to the new law.

That promise still remains unfulfilled. The government did, in fact, table a draft bill in the Knesset that curtailed somewhat the censor's rights.

According to that draft bill, the press had the right to appeal the decisions of the censor, while the censor was deprived of the right to close down newspapers without a court order. However, even this modest draft bill failed to be enacted. "The Board of Editors," the representative body of the Zionist daily press, was not enthusiastic about the draft bill and suddenly dropped altogether its request for a new law to replace the mandate censorship law. Instead, the board chose to content itself with an official promise from the censor--a promise that was set down in a written agreement between the IDF and the Board of Editors--not to delete information and articles on "political matters," and not to order administrative shut-downs for censorship violations.

The signature of the Board of Editors on the above agreement with the army was a sort of "original sin" for which the Israeli press is still being punished to this day. The Board of Editors committed a moral and ethical sin of the first degree. The agreement--unlike a Knesset law--has no general power and validity, except for the two signatory sides. Thus, the formal promise of the censor not to censor "political matters" binds him only toward the press represented by the Board of Editors and toward newspapers that will join the agreement, with his permission. By renouncing a parliamentary law, the Board of Editors gave its approval to and legitimized political censorship of the other newspapers. And indeed, from the day the agreement was signed, the editors of the Hebrew press gave up the struggle against the regulations of the mandatory censorship, despite the fact that they continue to be implemented. The censor still applies these regulations in all their severity to newspapers and newsmen who are not represented in the Board of Editors, almost without any opposition. Many newspapers and newsmen remain completely exposed to the arbitrariness of the censor, who applies to them overt political censorship.

This is particularly true of the Arabic press of East Jerusalem (published, nota bene, in a territory that was annexed to Israel and should thus enjoy the advantages of Israeli democracy). The censor takes advantage of the extensive prerogatives granted him by the mandate regulations in order to delete from Arab newspapers commentary and public relations material that he would not be allowed to delete under the agreement with the Board of Editors. He takes out expressions or hints of a political coloring not only from the news pages of those newspapers, but also from announcement columns (including obituaries...), riddles and crossword puzzles, culture and literature. The censor does not hesitate to hand down severe administrative punishment to East Jerusalem newspapers, of the kind that the Hebrew press furiously protested in 1948. In 1981 the censor ordered the closing down of the newspaper AL-FAJR for 10 days for censorship violations. The discrimination between the Arabic dailies, unprotected by the umbrella agreement with the Board of Editors, and the Hebrew dailies, is striking. Other items banned from publications in East Jerusalem newspapers are reports reproduced word for word from Hebrew newspapers or previously broadcast on the national radio and television. The political motivations of the censor are often quite obvious. Among other things, he disqualifies articles containing any expression of support for the establishment of a

Palestinian state, including articles that call for reconciliation and peace(!) between such a state and Israel. In August 1983 the censor surpassed himself: he forbade publication of statements in support of the weekly AL-SHIRA' which had been stopped at the order of the district authority.

#### The Censor Butted In the Conversation

The Arabic dailies are not the only ones left prey to arbitrary censorship by the agreement between the IDF and the Board of Editors. A "kosher" Hebrew daily such as HADASHOT, which does not belong to the Board of Editors, was closed down under an administrative decree of the censor in 1984. Political weeklies such as HA'OLAM HAZE, for example, do not enjoy the exemptions of the agreement, and thus suffer the full blast of the rights invested in the censor by the mandate legislation. Also, the agreement does not protect journalists employed by newspapers belonging to the Board of Editors when their articles appear in other newspapers or in books. Veteran HA'ARETZ journalist Mati Golan learned that for himself when he tried to publish in a book information gathered from Dr Kissinger's talks in Israel in the mid 1970's. Among other things that the censor deleted from the book were disparaging remarks made by the U.S. foreign secretary about Israeli and other personalities he met, and sections of a questionable value to security, bearing rather a public-political character, according to the protest letter sent by the author and the publisher to the chief censor.

Naturally, foreign correspondents in Israel are not represented in the Board of Editors, and thus are totally open to overt political censorship. Their complaints about arbitrary censorship resemble those of their colleagues in East Jerusalem. Jay Bushinsky, a senior American correspondent and former chairman of the foreign correspondents' association in Israel, complains that sometimes he and his colleagues are not permitted to publish in their newspapers abroad items that were already allowed to appear in the Israeli press. Another newsman, Efrayim Lahav, who represents the Springer string of German newspapers, says that at times the censor will delay the sending of an item by a foreign correspondent, then shortly thereafter allow it to be published in a local newspaper. Like their Arab colleagues, foreign correspondents complain about commentaries disqualified by the censor. Another one of their complaints is that the censor takes advantage of his prerogatives to force them to reveal their sources. Jay Bushinsky adds that more than once he was requested by the censor to reveal the name of the person who gave him information, although it was quite clear that the fact had no bearing on the security damage caused by its publication. In 1983 it was clearly proven that the censor is not content with this sort of requests, but that it initiates actions to find out the sources of foreign correspondents. In a lecture to high school students, one of the employees of the military censorship openly admitted that his office listens to telephone conversations between foreign correspondents and Israeli citizens. Following this disclosure, Knesset Member Mikha'el Bar-Zohar stated that the censor listened in on one of his private talks with Mr. Bushinsky, and that he even butted in on the conversation...

All this proves that the members of the Board of Editors paid a heavy moral and ethical price for the censor's promise not to apply political censorship to their writings, and in fact became passive accomplices in suppressing the freedom of other newspapers and newsmen. Has this questionable deal with the censor at least ensured the freedom of the newspapers belonging to the Board of Editors themselves? It is extremely difficult to give a positive answer to this question. The decades that have passed since the signing of the agreement demonstrate that it was not an advantageous agreement and that it affected even the "protected" newspapers which were expected to profit by it. Their fate may be better than that of the newspapers that were left open to the mandatory regulations, but the agreement does not afford them complete immunity from political censorship and from arbitrary disqualification of information that does not clearly pertain to security. The censor did indeed promise in the agreement that "there will be no political censorship," but it turned out that there is a permanent and intense dispute between the censor and the newspaper editors as to the meaning and practical value of this promise. Thus, for example, even at the beginning of the 1950's the censor claimed that he may disqualify items for reasons of "morale" and "education," because they are not "political matters." The editors rejected this interpretation and claimed that the censor may not prohibit any publication, unless it has a security-operational value.

#### "A Pretext to Prevent Criticism"

This basic dispute moved the HERUT newspaper in 1953 to violate a clear interdiction of the censor. The military censor had prohibited the publication of an article which, "in the opinion of the chief of staff, was apt to undermine morale." The newspaper ignored the order and printed the article in a prominent place, next to another article, signed by Knesset Member Menachem Begin and explaining the reasons for defying the censor's order. Mr Begin had written: "We are in great trouble if the army's morale is used as a pretext to prevent public criticism of the mistakes of government bodies, including the army..." It would seem, by the way, that Mr Begin changed his attitude on this subject when he became prime minister (especially during the Lebanon War), when the censor continued to disqualify items on grounds of morale. Thus, for example, during the period of heavy shelling of the Galilee Finger in the summer of 1981, the censor prohibited reports that thousands of inhabitants were fleeing Qiryat Shemona.

It emerges that the censor considers himself in charge of the prestige and feelings of each and every army commander, too. This became evident in the 1960's, on the eve of the appointment of the Air Force commander, Gen Ezer Weizmann as Chief of Operations of the General Staff. In those days, the censor banned the publication of a satirical piece by Sylvie Keshet in which she poked fun at Weizmann's personality and temper. The reason given by the censor was that, in the chief of staff's opinion, the troops under Weizmann may read the article and "laugh" at their commanding officer. The censor claimed that the decision does not deviate from the agreement, but many people who should know, among them Dr Yehoshu'a Rotensteiner, the legal



adviser of the Board of Editors, were of the opinion that this was no valid security censorship.

The agreement with the Board of Editors did not prevent the censor from disqualifying for publication in Israel items citing reports appearing in foreign newspapers, although the security risk involved in such reproduction seems totally groundless. The typical example is, of course, the Lavon affair, which was the focus of press reports in Israel in the first half of the 1960's. At the time the military censor prohibited the publication--also by the newspapers of the Board of Editors--of details concerning the "nasty business" in Egypt and the identity of the main characters in the affair. It is difficult to justify this prohibition by security considerations, since the taboo details were being revealed at the time in all the major newspapers of the world, including newspapers that were freely sold in Israel. The censor claimed that publication in Israel would "confirm" for the enemy the details appearing in the foreign press, but this claim is questionable in view of the fact that newspapers normally state in an item that the information was reproduced, in all its details, from a foreign newspaper. In any event, the "confirmation" claim can be used, if at all, only in connection with national media (radio or television), and certainly not in connection with a private newspaper that is not identified as an "official mouthpiece."

The frequent disputes between the censor and the Board of Editors had already reached "high pitch" by the middle of the 1960's, and thus brought about a revision of the agreement. The incident that was directly responsible for this revision was the censor's decision to forbid HA'ARETZ to publish an article hinting at "American pressure" designed to undermine the Israeli-French cooperation (at the time) in defense matters. HA'ARETZ did follow the censor's instructions, but in place of the banned article left a white spot, in violation of the law. Following that incident, the newspapers renewed their demand for a clearer and narrower definition of the censor's rights. The pressure bore fruit, and in July 1966 a new agreement was signed, which expanded the scope of subjects in which the censor may not interfere. To the "political matters" mentioned in the first agreement were now added "views," "commentary," "estimations," and "all subjects except defense information." All those topics were wrested from the authority of the censor; in actual fact, his prerogatives were restricted to just "security information," which was defined in the new agreement as "information that may help the enemy or harm national security."

#### Had Information Been Published

Nevertheless, these improved definitions, however successful and sophisticated, did not suffice to mend the basic flaw of the agreement, which is the absence of efficient sanctions against the censor. This basic weakness of the agreement brings us back to the "original sin" we spoke of before. Had the Board of Editors insisted in 1948 on its initial demand to limit the censor's prerogatives through a Knesset law (which had the endorsement of the prime minister and minister of defense of the time, David Ben-Gurion), it would have done a good service not only to the newspapers "outside the

camp," but also to its own press. Such a law would have permitted appeals to the High Court of Justice in each case of censorship not based on security grounds, and it in turn could have compelled the censor to observe his limitations. However, as long as those limitations are only sanctioned by an agreement they cannot be enforced in court, and the censor can ignore or circumvent them.

The legal status of the agreement is also disputed; according to some, it is nothing more than a "gentlemen's agreement." The agreement in fact establishes an "internal court" for disputes and conflicts between the censor and the press. According to data issued by the chief censor, Brig Gen Yitzhaq Shani, in May 1983, this "instance" deliberated 123 complaints filed by the censor against the press, and some 53 complaints filed by the press against the censor. It turns out, however, that this "internal court of justice" cannot ensure that justice is done to the press; the "court" is made up of two instances. The first instance is the "Censorship Board," which is neutral in its composition, and is comprised of a representative of the chief of staff, a representative of the Board of Editors, and a public figure. However, the ruling of this body is final only if it is unanimous, i.e., if the chief of staff's representative supports it, too. If the ruling is merely by majority, it goes to another instance, which is... the chief of staff. His ruling is final and there is no appealing it. That is to say, one side in the agreement, the army, has the right to decide on the validity of the actions of its representative, the military censor. No decision can be taken in this "court of justice" without the agreement and blessing of the military factors, who are not exactly the defenders of the freedom of the press.

Thus, even after the substantive changes made in the formulation of the agreement, complaints continued to be heard about the exploitation of censorship for purposes other than security during the 1970's and 1980's. Among other complaints, during the period between the Six Day War and the Yom Kippur War it was claimed that the censor was not content with examining the material coming to him from a security viewpoint, as stipulated in the agreement, but brought the material to the attention of senior officers who were directly interested in suppressing it. And thus the said officers were able to bring pressure to bear on the authors.

Military censorship played a considerable role in the scanty coverage of the Yom Kippur War. Although, as we will show later, the press "volunteered" to practice "self-censorship" concerning reports on the attack deployment of enemy armies along the Suez and in the Golan, thus making official censorship unnecessary, 2 days before the outbreak of fighting, on Thursday, October 1973, MA'ARIV military correspondent Ya'akoq Eren wanted to publish a report on the Egyptian deployment at the canal front. The report was based on a most reliable source--an interview by Eren the same day with the commander of the IDF troops in the Sinai, Albert Mandler, in which General Mandler expressed anxiety about the preparations across the border and stated that should the Egyptians attack, "the situation will be difficult." The military censor banned the entire interview from publication, aside from one minor paragraph. Some time after the incident, a military censorship

official frankly admitted that "the situation would perhaps have been different had the statement been published, and the ensuing events might have been precluded."

The "earthquake" of October 1973 did not have an immediate effect on censorship considerations; information continued to be kept from the public on the grounds of "morale" or "preventing panic." On the 3d (and most difficult) day of the war in the Suez sector, the 8th of October, the censor stopped a radio interview with a soldier who had been rescued from an area taken by the Egyptian army. A radio commentary by correspondent Mikha Shagrir was also disqualified on the same day for stating that the fighting in the southern sector was "tough and serious." Had Shagrir's view of the war been aired, it could have spoilt the optimistic picture painted by previous broadcasts, according to which "the IDF is defeating the enemy."

The "trauma" of Yom Kippur 1973 did not bring the press to the point of reneging on the shameful and inefficient agreement with the censor and renewing its demand for a new censorship law, but it nevertheless marked a turning point in the attitude of newsmen and editors toward the censor. Right after the war there was an extreme deterioration of relations between journalists and the chief censor, while editors became willing to take upon themselves the risk involved in defying his orders when the latter seemed arbitrary or political. Even when newspapers were forced to follow such orders, they took care to publicize as much as possible the disputes between themselves and the censor, unlike in the past, when such disputes generally took place "within the journalistic guild." Some 2 months after the end of the war, a great fire broke out at the Abu Ruday oil fields. The censor could not, of course, hide the fact of the fire, but for 10 days it prevented publication of the fact that the fire had been caused by the accidental explosion of an Israeli Hawk missile. The censorship ban made foreign correspondents think that Israel had caused the fire on purpose, for fear that it might have to return the oil fields to Egypt. The Israeli press ground its teeth and accepted the censor's decree, but once it was lifted, it furiously criticized it.

In August 1974 HA'ARETZ decided to publish prominently an article that had been prohibited by the censor in its entirety. The article, written by publicist Yo'el Marcus, sharply criticized the tendency of then Chief of Staff Maj Gen Mordekhai Gur to prattle and carry on about the most sensitive defense subjects. Despite the fact that all the defense information contained in the article came from the chief of staff's public statements already aired in the media, the censor prohibited its publication. HA'ARETZ did not regard the decree as legitimate security censorship and was content to register a protest. Its daring decision to ignore the censorship and to publish the entire article as written brought forth sharp public criticism of the censor's behavior, and the subject was even discussed in the Knesset in a question to the defense minister.

Disagreement with censorship based on political or "morale" considerations also affected the state-controlled media, which before the Yom Kippur War normally accepted all censorship willingly. In January 1974 Qol Isra'el



carried a severe criticism by then Minister Pinkhas Sapir of General Ari'el Sharon for interfering in the talks on a cease-fire agreement with Egypt. For some reason the censor prohibited the interview, but Qol Isra'el decided to ignore the ban and carried Sapir's comments in the popular news program "Yoman Hashavu'a" [Weekly Journal]. In other cases since then, the radio and television have not often violated censorship orders, but have registered protest about unjustified bans.

The sharp and open clashes between the press and the military censor came to a head after the IDF invasion of Lebanon on 6 June 1982. The problem was undoubtedly compounded by the controversial nature of the war and by the feeling, shared by many journalists, that this was an avoidable war with indisputable political objectives. Against this background, the media's suspicion of the censor increased, as did their fear that the latter's rights may be used for political purposes. Every censorship decision suspected of being tainted by considerations other than security brought about bitter clashes and disputes. Newspapers sometimes intentionally defied censorship orders, a phenomenon unprecedented in previous wars.

The personality, traits, and controversial behavior of the conceivers and executors of the war--"Rafael" and Sharon--also seemed to have a decisive influence on the relations between the media and the censor. The press feared that censorship was being used illegitimately, not only in order to conceal vital information from it and from the people, but also from key ministers in the Israeli cabinet. In retrospect it emerged that this feeling was not without grounds. One of the characteristic examples of it was the bloody battles on the Beirut-Damascus road in the 3d week of the war. HA'ARETZ military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff described the battles as clearly initiated by the IDF. The military censor did not prohibit the report, but "amended" and edited it to the point where the facts were distorted. The "edited" version that was allowed for publication gave the (wrong) impression that the IDF had been reacting to enemy fire. The distinct feeling of the HA'ARETZ editors was, according to deputy chief editor Ran Kislev, that "the purpose was to conceal the facts not just from the public, but from the cabinet members themselves." Subsequently it turned out that the deputy prime minister, Simkha Erlich, indeed knew nothing of what was happening and was being fed erroneous information by senior defense sources. Consequently, HA'ARETZ decided to print the original version of the report, without the censor's amendments. This incident also revealed the flawed character of the "internal court of justice" for censorship matters. The two sides--HA'ARETZ and the military censor--both took advantage of their right to file a complaint with the "court." Despite the fact that this was a clear case of political, illegitimate censorship, HA'ARETZ was accused of violating the agreement, while the censor got away with a light "notification."

This was the most striking among a long series of clashes between the Israeli press and the censor during the long months of the Lebanon War. The clashes did not always end with violation of the censor's ban. The press sometimes accepted the decree while bitterly disputing it, and branded the decision only after the "censored" information was released for publication. Thus, for example, the censor's decision to prohibit reports on Katyusha fire

opened by terrorists on Jordan Valley settlements aroused great anger. The press saw this as purely political censorship designed to save the government and the prime minister embarrassment, in view of the fact that they had promised the people that "there will be no more Katyushas." Only 4 months later was the censorship ban lifted, and the newspapers openly criticized it. Similar criticism was leveled--after the fact--at the censor's decision to ban interviews with Air Force pilots who expressed moral doubts as to the bombing of Lebanon. In this case, too, the press had difficulty accepting the censor's argument that there is real security danger in revealing the moral sensitivity of our pilots.

These and other cases clearly prove that the agreement between the Board of Editors and the censor has long been bankrupt. It is incapable of preventing arbitrary and unjust use of the censor's prerogatives. Censorship for purposes other than security, and discrimination among various classes of newspapers and newsmen, constitute a permanent and unacceptable threat to the strength of democracy and to the future of the free press. This dangerous threat can still be neutralized, without eliminating censorship and without impairing the serious and important security interests that it guards. For that, the questionable and ineffective agreement must be replaced by clear parliamentary legislation that should be applied to all newspapers equally and should unequivocally limit the censor's prerogatives to security matters. Both democracy and the freedom of the press, and the country's security, can gain from such legislation, which will permit the press to appeal to the High Court of Justice to cancel arbitrary censorship decisions, while at the same time permitting the defense authorities to initiate criminal charges against newspapers or newsmen who insolently violate legitimate security prohibitions.

#### Self-Censorship in Press

Tel Aviv KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew 19 Jun 85 pp 26-28

[Article from book "Paper Tiger" by Moshe Negbi: "Emasculating Themselves for the Sake of Knowledge"]

[Text] The Editors' Committee is definitely a secret society: in exchange for the honor of hearing state secrets from the Prime Minister and his ministers, the organization of daily newspapers struggle for the public's right not to know. Recently this establishment was indirectly reprimanded by the Chief of Staff for its part in suppressing information about the prisoner exchange. Moshe Negbi's book "Paper Tiger," which will be out this week, deals with the struggle for freedom of the press in Israel. We reprint (here) the chapter on the Editors' Committee.

The Israeli government has at its disposal a plentiful and unusual array of means of suppressing the freedom of the press: colonial laws and emergency regulations from the times of the British mandate, home-grown draconian laws and decrees, and means of pressure, threats, and coercion. To those we must add another means of suppression, which surprisingly originates not in the government's prerogatives, but in the press itself. This is the

Board of Editors, which exercises what is known as "self-censorship." The harm inflicted by this voluntary censorship on the freedom of information is most serious. Instead of consistently and uncompromisingly struggling for the right of the citizen to know, the press editors work hand in hand with the authorities to conceal from him important information, although the information was not banned from publication by the military censorship.

How did it come to be and crystallize, this queer phenomenon of press editors who volunteer to act as their own censors? Its roots go back to the British rule in Eretz Israel. During the struggle of the Jewish yishuv against mandate authorities, the "Reaction Board" of the Hebrew daily newspaper (the parent and model figure of the present Board of Editors) agreed to refrain from publishing information that could endanger the actions of the Hebrew Underground. In those days, this "voluntary censorship" was, naturally, completely justified, in view of the fact that the Hagana--like the other bodies of the "state in the making"--did not have any tools of government and thus could not impose security censorship on the newspapers. However, the "voluntary censorship" continued even after the establishment of the state, when the Hebrew defense apparatus acquired all the sophisticated means of coercion of the British mandate: military censorship, press decrees, defense regulations, etc. Self-censorship worked and continues to work as follows: a senior government figure or an IDF officer gives a certain piece of information to the Board of Editors, who promise a priori not to publish it, even if it should reach them from another source. This is how a conspiracy of silence is in fact being woven between an "elite group" of journalists and the top establishment at the expense of the right of the citizen to know. It is logical to assume that the concealed information has no defense value, because when it is a question of a defense secret, the government does not need self-censorship because it has the coercive powers of military censorship. The government needs the Board of Editors precisely for information that the military censorship, despite its extensive prerogatives, recoils from prohibiting (...).

Some people try to justify this political self-censorship by the fact that if the press would not practice it, it would be imposed on it from above. As we know, the military censorship, the IDF spokesman, and other establishment bodies do not hesitate to abuse their prerogatives for political purposes. Nevertheless, there is a decisive and basic difference between political censorship imposed from above, and voluntary press self-censorship. In the case of government political censorship, the newspapers preserve the right to appeal, discuss, or protest. And when the political motivations of the censor are too obvious, they can even take a calculated risk, violate the law, and put the decision to the test of public criticism. There have already been cases of such press action, and the government refrained from laying down the law. However, when the source of censorship is the press itself (or its editors), the journalists are robbed of their right to protest or sound the alarm, while the public remains unaware of it all. Thus, the self-censorship of the press absolves the government from the obligations to justify its political interference with the freedom of information and from the risk of arousing indignant public reactions. There is no reason for the media to make life that easy for the government. The editor of the

prestigious British weekly NEW STATESMAN once stated, "If the government wants to impose censorship, it should pay the full political price for it." And indeed, experience shows--in our country, too--that the government cannot, or does not always want, to pay the political price. Sometimes the refusal of the newspapers to apply self-censorship prevents, in the last analysis, government censorship. Such an example occurred during Yitzhaq Rabin's government and concerned an attempt to impose silence on a piece of diplomatic information. As is known, the prime minister promised his ministers to take energetic steps to prevent the publication of information concerning secret diplomatic contracts. To begin with, Mr Rabin tried to keep his promise by cooperating with the press; he appealed to the Board of Editors to practice self-censorship on this subject. The board rejected his request, and in the end the government refrained from wielding the law to enforce censorship. The lesson to learn from this is, as we said, that the risk of imposed political censorship does not justify self-censorship or restraint on the part of the press. On the contrary, if the government wants political censorship, the press should fight it and force it to reveal its undemocratic objectives. To quote Clifton Daniel, one of the NEW YORK TIMES editors, "If censorship restrictions are imposed from above, let the enterprising journalist side-step or violate them, if he dares... But do not let us emasculate ourselves with our own pencils."

Another pretext used to justify self-censorship is the acute desire of the editors to protect vital government interests, as they are described by ministers or senior army officers. This pretext, too, has no factual basis. When it is a question of vital interests indeed, the government apparatus has the power to prevent harmful publication even without the help of the press. Moreover, no one has empowered the Board of Editors (or the personalities appearing before it) to decide whether publication of certain information is helpful or harmful, or whether it is good for the citizen to learn it. The role and purpose of the press is to find out information and to bring it to the public, while the role of the government (through its legally empowered bodies) is to prevent publication of information that may jeopardize state security, and one should not confuse the two. Knesset Member Shulamit Aloni expressed this very succinctly and to the point: "The government should keep silent about things that should be kept quiet, and the press should pursue the freedom of expression and information." When the Board of Editors conceals from the public information that the relevant government bodies (i.e., the censor) did not find necessary to prohibit, it betrays both the public's confidence and its professional function. Not to mention that it lays false claims to deciding "what the man in the street should know" (...).

Criticism increased and intensified after the Yom Kippur War, when it emerged that the Board of Editors (together with the military censorship and the military correspondents) had been an active party to the poor press coverage on the eve of the war. According to one of the board members, newspapers editorial staffs received many reports from foreign press agencies about the concentration of Syrian and Egyptian troops along the borders with Israel. The military censorship did not prohibit the reproduction of those reports (probably because their source was outside Israel), but they were not

published because of self-censorship. Three days before the outbreak of the war the Board of Editors met with the chief of staff, David El'azar. The chief of staff did not deny the agencies' reports; on the contrary, he confirmed them in detail. He also revealed that 2,000 Egyptian tanks were already stationed along the Suez line, with 1,300 Syrian tanks in the Golan. Although no "defense secret" was involved (the enemy certainly was aware of the "secret" concerning its own troops), the chief of staff asked the editors not to reveal the information to their readers, or at least to publish it unobtrusively, and to refrain from editorial articles and commentaries that might attract attention. The board acceded to the request and forbade the news editors and military correspondents to give appropriate professional treatment to the disquieting reports from the cease-fire lines. Thus, for example, when correspondent Ya'qov Erez wanted to quote the deputy commanding officer of the Golan Heights battalion as saying that "the entire Syrian army is along the border," the MA'ARIV editor prevented him from doing so and even warned him "not to scare the country." The exaggerated cooperation between the Board of Editors and the authorities made the leaders of the Israeli media adopt the government's paternalistic attitude toward the nation, an attitude according to which the public is not mature enough to face reality.

The Dire consequences of the "voluntary censorship" that prevailed in the Yom Kippur War relentlessly brought to the fore all its negative aspects. Had the newspapers published--with all due professional emphasis--the reports received from foreign press agencies, the catastrophic serenity that led to our failure would probably have been avoided. It is possible that under the pressure of the published material the government would have initiated more energetic preparations despite reassuring intelligence reports, and the preparations might have deterred the enemy from going to war; at the least, the character of the war would have been different and our losses smaller. The press itself realized this possibility after the war, when checking back on its actions. The Yearbook of the Association of Journalists, which undertook to sum up the lessons of the war, opened with a dramatic appeal to consider the complete dismantling of the Board of Editors. The editor of the yearbook, Gabri'el Strassman, stated that the Board of Editors was instrumental in tying the hands of the press and that its closeness to the establishment was "one of the heaviest shackles put on the real freedom of the profession in Israel." In a tempestuous discussion at the Association of Journalists, only 2 months after the end of the war, military correspondent Ze'ev Schiff denounced the Board of Editors as the "golden calf," and accused its members of concealing important information not only from the readers, but also from their military correspondents. Another veteran journalist, Mark Segal of THE JERUSALEM POST accused the Board of Editors of "dulling the journalistic instinct" and preventing the promotion of a "militant press" in Israel.

This sharp criticism did not bring about the dismantling of the Board of Editors, nor of self-censorship. In March 1974 the Association of Journalists adopted a decision strongly requesting the Board of Editors to contribute to "establishing conditions that will permit the journalists to discharge their duties toward their readers concerning defense matters." The request implied, of course, the accusation that in the past the Board had been an



obstacle to the fulfillment of the above journalistic duties. The Board, however, did not take fright from this accusation and did not discontinue the self-censorship.

In 1976, the military correspondent of the television, Nachman Shay, regretfully stated that the main problem inherent in the activities of the Board of Editors was still not solved. That problem was "the network of close relations between the government-establishment and the press, which affects the current reports reaching the viewers, readers, and listeners."

In this area, too, as in that of the destructive ties between the IDF Spokesman and military correspondents, a new page was turned only after the political "revolution" of May 1977, and even then the initiative came from the new government, not from the press. The populist objectives of the Likud government and its wide support among the masses brought its leaders to the thought--despite the reservations of the press--that they do not need to promote close relations with the press editors. The ties between the government and the Board of Editors had already been weakened and use of the self-censorship system had lessened anyway. The former chairman of the Board of Editors, Mark Gefen, admits that Mr Begin had in a way put a "ban" on the Board and did not meet with it for about 3 years, preferring direct contacts with the public. Even when he needed the "support" of the press, the prime minister did not summon the Board of Editors, but selected instead some correspondent. The relations between the government and the board deteriorated even further with the appointment of Ari'el Sharon as defense minister. Sharon pointedly boycotted the press editors and forbade the chief of staff to meet with them. The breach widened when Sharon tried to prevent reporting on the evacuation of Yamit. However, even at this nadir in the relations between the government and the Board of Editors, the latter did not choose to give up self-censorship. On the contrary, its members urged the government to renew its "confidence" and to restore the tradition of meetings "not for publication." It would seem that only the refusal of the government to do so prevented the exercise of voluntary censorship in the first weeks and months of the Lebanon War. Thus, the Board of Editors was pushed--almost against its will--into a position of relentless confrontation with the establishment, and as a result, one of the strictest limitations imposed on the freedom of press reporting was lifted. There is no doubt that the neutralization of the Board of Editors as a censorship factor made a considerable contribution to the great achievements of the Israeli press in the Lebanon war. Correspondents were still forced to deal with the imposed restrictions of military censorship, but they were freed from the limitations of "patriotism" and "national responsibility" dictated by editors--upon government instigation--in previous wars, and this fact was reflected in their reports and articles and in the editorial treatment of those reports and articles.

The welcome elimination of self-censorship was, however, only temporary. As the war became longer and more complex, and as popular support for the Likud government ebbed and eroded, the government again sought to renew its informal relations with the media leadership. The removal of Defense Minister Sharon, Chief of Staff "Rafael," and Prime Minister Begin from their posts also facilitated the restoration of the tradition of frequent meetings

between the carriers of that tradition and the press editors. At the beginning of 1984, while the IDF troops were spending their second winter in Lebanon, such meetings were already well underway and the Board of Editors was again threatening the freedom of reporting of its newspapers (...).

The conclusion is obvious: the censorship activities of the Board of Editors constitutes an insufferable infringement on the freedom of the press and on democracy in Israel. The Board must not commit itself not to publish information received from public figures. It should also be stressed that the meetings between newspaper editors and government representatives are not in themselves negative, because any government initiative to share its information with media representatives, and through them with the readership, is welcome. However, if publication prohibition is the basic condition for those meetings, then it is preferable to give them up in exchange for freedom of journalistic reporting. The Board of Editors can serve as a central and powerful means of defending the freedom of the press in our country, but only if its members refrain from becoming the government's "confidants," and resist the temptation to "emasculate themselves with their own pencils."

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#### FOOTNOTES

- \* Moshe Negbi (36) is a veteran journalist, and news editor at Qol Isra'el, and has an M.A. Degree in law. He combines these two areas of expertise in "Dispute," his excellent legal program on the radio. In 1981 he published "The Chains of Justice" about the activities of the High Court of Justice in the territories. His book "Paper Tiger" (132 pages) will be published by the Sifriyat Hapoalim. Negbi believes that the established Israeli newspapers cooperate in silencing newspapers outside the establishment in the mistaken belief that the same could not happen to them. They are wrong, says Negbi.

12782

CSO: 4423/53

LEBANON

DIPLOMATIC TRANSFERS, APPOINTMENTS

NC160841 Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 13 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Decrees were issued yesterday providing for ambassadorial transfers, for the appointment of an army officer as military attache to Washington, and for extensions of the tours of several officers serving as attaches in embassies abroad.

Decree No 2530 provides for:

1. The transfer of Suhayl Shammās, ambassador in our Central Administration, to the Embassy in Bonn. He has been named ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the FRG, without any change in salary or grade. He replaces Mahmud Hammud, who has been transferred to Central Administration.
2. The transfer of Ambassador Ibrahim Kharma, head of the permanent mission to the United Nations in Geneva, to our embassy in Vienna. He has been named ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Austria, without any change in salary or grade. He replaces 'Abbas Hamiyah, who has been transferred to our embassy in Madrid.
3. The transfer of Khalil Makkawi, ambassador in our Central Administration, to the embassy in Rome. He has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Italy, without any change in salary or grade. (vacant post)
4. The transfer of Hasan Hashshash, ambassador in our Central Administration, to the embassy in Belgrade. He has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, without any change in salary or grade. He replaces Yahya Mahmasani, who has been transferred to our embassy in Ankara.
5. The transfer of Zaydan Zaydan, ambassador in our Central Administration, to the embassy in Nicosia. He has been named ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Cyprus, without any change in salary or grade. He replaces Iskandar 'Ammun, who has been transferred to Central Administration.



6. The transfer of Salim Naffa', ambassador in our Central Administration, and his appointment as head of our Permanent Mission to the UN European Agency and to the international organizations in Geneva. This move has no effect on his salary or grade, and he replaces Ambassador Ibrahim Kharma, who has been transferred to our embassy in Vienna.
7. The transfer of Butrus Ziyadah, ambassador in our Central Administration, to our embassy in Amman. He has been named ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, without any change in salary or grade. He replaces Samir Hubayqah, who has been transferred to our embassy in Brasilia.
8. The transfer of Yahya Mahmasani, Lebanon's ambassador in Belgrade, to our embassy in Ankara. He has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, without any change in salary or grade. He replaces Mustafa al-Zayn, who has been transferred to our embassy in Havana.
9. The transfer of Samir Hubayqah, head of our diplomatic mission in Amman, to our embassy in Brasilia. He has been named head of our diplomatic mission there with the rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. This move has no impact on his salary or grade, and he replaces Fakhri Saghiyah, who has been transferred to Central Administration. All this is to be done in accordance with the provisions of Article 16 of the draft law in force and Decree No 1306 of 18 June 1971 (Foreign and Expatriate Affairs Ministry statutes).
10. The minister of foreign and expatriate affairs will set a date for implementing this decree. This will be done through a later decision.
11. This decree will be published and posted in the appropriate manner.

Decree No 2535 provides for the transfer of Counselor Michel Abu Khatir from the Lebanese Embassy in Rome to the Central Administration and for the transfer of Jamil Nahhas from the Lebanese Embassy in Stockholm to the Central Administration.

Decree No 2536 provides for the appointment of Ambassador Samih al-Baba as head of the Political Affairs Department at the Foreign and Expatriate Affairs Ministry in place of Ambassador Khalil Makkawi who has been appointed to Rome.

Another decree was issued providing for the transfer of Ambassador Suhayl Frayjah from the Central Administration to the Embassy in India and his appointment as ambassador; the transfer of Ahmad Ibrahim, ambassador in Sierra Leone, to the Embassy in Senegal; the transfer of Antoine Jum'ah, consul general in Rio de Janeiro, to Khartoum and his appointment as ambassador to Sudan; and the transfer of Jean Hazou, from the Central Administration, and his appointment as ambassador to Iraq.

**Military Attaches:**

Decree No 2470 dated 26 April 1985 provided for:

1. The appointment of Army Staff Brigadier General Faruq Wajih Husayn Agha, as army, air, and naval military attache at the Lebanese Embassy in Washington as of the date of this decree and for a 1-year, renewable term. His mission will be subject to the general directives defined in Decision No 385 issued by the National Defense Ministry on 20 August 1973.

2. The appointment of the following army officers as army, air, and naval military attaches at the Lebanese embassies shown opposite their names has been extended as from 15 October 1984 to 1 year only. Their appointments are not renewable. Their mission will be subject to the general directives defined in Decision No 385 issued by the National Defense Ministry on 20 August 1973:

Staff Brigadier General Air Engineer Adin Salim Nasir al-Din -- Tunisia (Tunis)

Staff Brigadier General Naval Engineer Faris Jubra'il Lahhud -- France (Paris)

Staff Brigadier General Roger Michel Faghali -- Britain (London)

Staff Brigadier General 'Afif Ahmad Sha'ban -- Italy (Rome)

Staff Brigadier General Ishaq Wahbah -- Morocco (Rabat)

Staff Brigadier General Kichel Yusuf al-Khuri -- Jordan (Amman)

Air Colonel Mahmud Muhammad Rida Mater -- Belgium (Brussels).

3. The appointment of Staff Brigadier General Air Engineer Amin Salim Nasir al-Din as member of the Standing Military Committee to the Arab League, in addition to his post under Article 2 above, has been extended for 1 year from 15 October. The appointment is not renewable.

4. The above officers will receive compensation provided for by Decree No 1306 dated 18 June 1971 and its amendments under Decrees Nos 1524, dated 5 March 1984, and 5397, dated 20 September 1982.

5. The funds needed for this purpose will be provided from the salaries allocated in the National Defense Ministry's budget (the army).

6. This decree will be published and posted in the appropriate manner.

CSO: 4400/202

LEBANON

BRIEFS

PHALANGIST MILITIAS TV STATION--Beirut, KUNA--Informed sources in Beirut said yesterday that the Phalangist militias are preparing to set up a television station to strengthen their domination of the areas under their military control. The sources told KUNA that the Phalangist Lebanese forces decided during the latest meeting of their executive command committee to begin television transmissions within 3 weeks. The sources said that television broadcasts of the Phalangist militias will be on channels 12 and 23 and that preparations under the supervision of the Phalangist militias' information department are underway to begin transmission. The sources said that the Phalangist militias command has made this decision to strengthen its hold over the areas under its military control and to confront the growing campaign against the militias by the Phalangist Party's military and information apparatus. [Excerpt] [Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 15 Jul 85 p 12 GF]

CSO: 4400/202

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

SYRIAN ROLE IN WAR OF BEIRUT CAMPS ANALYZED

Nicosia FAIASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 22 Jun 85 pp 10-11

[Article by Salah Qallab: "Six Syrian Assumptions Rendered Faulty by the Camps War"]

[Text] When the "camps war" broke out on the 19th of last month, assessments, those of the real operations room in Damascus, were that this war would not last more than a few hours and that it would be settled with the same speed as was the battle against the Murabitun movement in Beirut.

These assessments were based on a number of assumptions which were soon proven faulty by the way the battle developed. This created great difficulties for the Syrian plan and caused the "camps war" to last as long as it did. It also prompted Damascus to change its previous plan in the hope of obtaining, through political solutions and severe pressures, what it could not obtain through military operations.

So what were the faulty Syrian assumptions and why did the plan to overrun the camps run into difficulties, thus prolonging the time set for a settlement from a few hours to almost a full month?

Two Basic Observations

At first, two observations which emerged as an objective consequence of the difficulties faced by the plan to attack the camps must be mentioned. The first is Israel's reneging on its previous pledge to withdraw from southern Lebanon completely by no later than the last third of last month. The second is the Lebanese Front's renunciation of previous positions, according to which it had announced its support of the so-called "Syrian option" and had declared itself on the side of the decision to publicize this option in the eastern areas which are under control of this front represented by the Phalange party and the Lebanese Forces.

So what does all this mean? Why did Israel renege on its commitment? Indeed, why did the Lebanese Front reject what it had already accepted?

Matters have become clear and need no proof. Complete withdrawal from southern Lebanon, including abandonment of the Antoine Lahd Army, was contingent upon securing Galilee's safety, and Galilee's safety cannot be secured unless

the Palestinian camps are disarmed, particularly the main camps in Beirut. And since the first test revealed the inability of the side which took upon itself this task to accomplish its mission, Israel too was freed from its commitment until such time as other commitments were fulfilled!

This also goes for the Lebanese Front. Its approval of the "Syrian option" was contingent upon dividing the Lebanese cake between it and the Amal movement. Since such a division was linked to the liquidation of the Palestinian camps, the main obstacle to sectarian partitions in Lebanon, the front too found itself free of its previous commitment. Hence, front leader Camille Sham'un began to back off from his previous welcome of the "brotherly" security and the expansion of Syrian influence to all Lebanese areas.

Going back to the main issue, which is the mistakes committed by the real operations room in Damascus when it planned to hit the camps in Beirut, we find that the plan was based originally on the assumption that the successive massacres had exhausted the Palestinian camps and that the camps were no longer able even to let out a cry of pain in the face of the Knights of the new sect.

Moreover, the planners believed that the presence of Palestinian legitimacy in these camps was confined to a handful of individuals who were sent in from abroad and that, with the firing of the first bullet, this presence would finally melt away and the camp inhabitants would come out waving white flags to welcome Nabih Birri's armies advancing from all directions.

The same assessments held that the great majority of the Palestinian camp fighters would not take part in the fight on the side of legitimacy to defend these camps and that the people in Damascus, who pledged to turn the camps against their leaders, would be able to carry out their pledge in a way that would neutralize the Salvation Front at least if not place its rifles on the side of the attacking sectarian herds.

The real operations room in Damascus believed that the alliances that emerged during the attack on the Murabitun and West Beirut would re-emerge and that Walid Junblat and his party, under the impact of fear and threats, would not be satisfied with a neutral position, but would join Nabih Birri and the 6th Brigade in the attack on the Palestinian camps.

On the basis of this, the real planners believed the Arabs had lost their stamina, the minds that were numbed by the Tal Za'tar and Tripoli massacres and the first Sabra and Shatila massacres would remain numbed regardless of the size of the new massacres and any Arab reaction would not be collective, be it in the form of holding an Arab League meeting or a call for a new Arab summit.

However, developments soon confirmed that these calculations did not add up and that the assumptions based on intelligence reports and intelligence operatives, both Palestinian and non-Palestinian, soon were put to the test, which proved them to be worlds apart from reality.

### Surprises

Thus, with the first military movement towards the camps, the series of surprises began. The first surprise was the realization that the firebrand of revolution

in the Palestinian camps had not gone out and the massacres had failed to undermine the relationship between the people and their revolution, which was being battled at every location, dispersing its people, cadres and leaderships to the four corners of the earth.

Another surprise was that Palestinian legitimacy in the Beirut camp was not merely "bands of mercenaries coming from abroad," as some intelligence reports and operatives put it, but that Arafat, the symbol and the leader, was alive in every tin shack in Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajinah and the Palestinian speckled headgear overshadowed every inch and every alley in these camps.

In one of the meetings held to draw up the plan for attacking Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajinah, the conferees talked about the "presence of 'Arafat" in these camps. Amid the consternation of the participants, and contrary to what the "heroes" who slaughtered the Palestinian legitimacy said, a leader of a main Lebanese party emphasized that the Palestinian camps in Lebanon were "Arafatist" and that even the dissident elements, as soon as they crossed the last point of Syrian presence going towards Beirut, reverted to their 'Arafatism and became more adamant in declaring their support of the PLO than even the ones who are committed to this legitimacy.

Furthermore, it was established from the first moments of the attack on the Palestinian camps that the combat base in these camps had one hand and one heart and was behaving and fighting on a foundation different from the one whose leaders had been polished for such a moment.

One piece of information which is no longer a secret is that one of the leaders of the attack on Palestinian legitimacy in northern Lebanon was compelled, in compliance with the base reality which crystallized in the Palestinian camps, to reject higher orders he received to sign a communique holding 'Arafat responsible for events in these camps. "...I cannot do what you are asking me to do and I hope you will not force me to apologize to 'Arafat for what I had done in past years."

Moreover, it was said that the al-Asad Battalion, which was recently formed from some Palestinians and Lebanese to be a tool of the Syrian option in Lebanon, at some point joined the fighting against the Amal movement, particularly on the Gaza Hospital axis on the northern tip of Sabra camp.

And did not the batteries of some pro-Syrian option detachments, stationed in the mountains overlooking Beirut, join in the defense of the Palestinian camps despite orders to the contrary issued from the Syrian capital and from the leaderships which prepared for such a task.

Within the framework of surprises which got in the way of the plan drawn by the real operations room in Damascus lies the position adopted by Walid Junblat and his party toward the attack on the camps. It is true that this position was much less than what was expected from a party like Mr. Walid Junblat's party which, if Nabih Birri should succeed in his new war, will fit the adage that says: "I was eaten the day the white bull was eaten." However, it is no longer a secret that this modest role has contributed to the steadfastness of the Palestinian camps, whether by allowing the Palestinian batteries stationed

in the Shuf areas to intervene in defense of these camps or by facilitating the movement of Palestinian fighters in West Beirut toward the camps in Sabra, Shatila and Burj al-Barajinah.

#### Al-Qadhdhafi's Surprise

More surprising was the over-all Arab position which defied all expectations and assumptions which preceeded the attack on the camps, for it never occurred to those who planned and carried out this attack that an Arab consensus would emerge around the Palestinian position.

It seems that the "greatest surprise" in this domain was the position adopted by Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and his Libyan Jamahiriyyah. Damascus was under the impression that al-Qadhdhafi's need of it would curb his desire to express his true feeling about the Palestinian camps massacre and, therefore, thought that Libya's position would not go beyond the one Libya adopted when the Murabitun's public presence in West Beirut was liquidated.

In addition to these surprises was the "Iranian surprise" and the accusations leveled by Ayatollah Hoseyn Montazeri against the Amal movement in which he charged that "the disarmament of the camps is an American-Israeli scheme which only serves Israel and the United States.

Then there was the Soviet surprise when the Soviet leader sent a supposedly harshly-worded message to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad warning him of the consequences of events in Lebanon and urging him to put an end to the war waged against the Palestinian camps in Beirut.

Besides all this, it seems the greatest surprise was the international reaction which surpassed all assumptions and expectations. The planners of the camps war thought that this war would be viewed on the international level as a domestic issue. The surprise came when the Security Council convened, even before the Arab League did, to discuss the attack on the Palestinian camps in Beirut and issued a communique demanding a cease fire and permission for humanitarian agencies to do their job inside the Palestinian camps.

In the press conference held by the second-ranking official in the Amal movement, 'Akif Haydar, the official expressed clear dismay at the international media, reiterating that it was interfering and that 'Arafat had succeeded in enlisting the western mass media against the Amal movement and its allies led by Syria!

Finally, we have to ask what Damascus will do following these surprises and after its faulty assumptions produced a war which has been going on for about a month, a tremendous Arab and international informational siege and an isolation which threatens worse things to come.

It seems here that the answer lies in the tireless efforts to work out a cease fire as soon as possible in order to achieve, through pressure and political solutions, what military action could not accomplish.



## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### VARIOUS PEACE PLANS DISCUSSED

Nicosia FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 22 Jun 85 pp 26-27

[Article by Jawad al-Bushayti: "Peres Did Not Stay Out of the Initiatives Game. From Deceptive Withdrawal to Deceptive Peace"]

[Text] Now there are three plans: a Jordanian-Palestinian plan, a Shultz plan and finally a Peres plan, which is the first practical Israeli initiative on the Palestinian question. Are they peace initiatives or mines?

And now, it is Israel's turn to offer a peace initiative for it is harmful, politically and propagandistically, to keep the Shimon Peres government out of the peace initiatives game in which most international and regional players are actively involved. This is particularly so since the international and regional playing field, which is swarming with similar feuding and integrated peace initiatives and plans, reflects in actuality the intricacy of the peace process.

Peres, the present head of the Israeli shared government, took advantage of the alleged total withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanon to announce to the Knesset the first settlement plan offered by his government since it took over the reins of power.

#### Peres' Ideas

Peres thought that the completion of Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon was the first stage, which, of course, has been accomplished, of the Israeli peace plan. The subsequent stages are:

1. Negotiations between the United States, Israel, Jordan, Egypt and non-PLO "Palestinian representatives."
2. A meeting of a committee or a body composed of representatives from Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians to draw up an agenda for a conference to be held among these three parties with U.S. participation.
3. Efforts to gain the "support" of the permanent UN Security Council members to begin direct peace negotiations, provided that none of the permanent members pledge in advance support for the position of any of the parties.



4. Selection of "true representatives" for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip inhabitants, to be approved by all the parties.
5. A peace conference to be held within 3 months under the supervision of the United States or Western Europe.

The real objective of the Peres plan was revealed at a later date by an Israeli government official. This official said the plan Peres announced was aimed at taking the initiative from King Husayn and putting Israel in the frontline of settlement efforts.

As for Uri Savir, the enemy government spokesman, he mentioned that the Israeli prime minister realized the need for an Israeli peace initiative within the framework of presently active peace movements: "We do not say no to the points Husayn raised upon which we do not agree."

Indeed, Israel chose to say "no" to the Jordanian peace plan by offering a counter settlement plan which Peres drew up in coordination with acting Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens (a Likud member).

Before Peres announced his plan, the Israeli prime minister received a message from George Shultz, the American secretary of state, about the results of King Husayn's talks in Washington.

#### Shultz's Message

According to informed Israeli sources, Shultz's message, which was not made public, contained the following main points:

1. That King Husayn informed Washington, following Yasir Arafat's approval, that he was committed to holding direct negotiations with Israel during the current year on the basis of Resolutions 242 and 338 and that he was interested in setting up a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation and not an independent Palestinian state.
2. That the issuance of an official American statement announcing Washington's approval of the Palestinians' right to self-determination in accordance with the Amman agreement would lead to the PLO's public and unequivocal acceptance of UN Resolution 242 which contains, according to international sources, recognition of Israel.
3. That Richard Murphy, Assistant secretary of state for Middle Eastern affairs, will meet early next July in Amman with a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation whose Palestinian elements will comprise inconspicuous PNC members.

Although this meeting will be an official encounter between the American administration and the Palestinians, it will not be a framework for political negotiations, but rather for preliminary talks.

During these encounters, there will be discussed the means by which another preliminary meeting between the American administration and the joint delegation, which will then include the PLO, can be held.

4. That Jordan has withdrawn its condition that Israel return to the 1967 borders, and it accepts the principle of offering regional concessions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip within the framework of peace negotiations. Jordan (and the Arabs in general) had stipulated that the final settlement formula should be made known to them before entering into peace negotiations, a condition that prevented the start of such negotiations. Now, they give priority to the start of the peace negotiations.

5. That Jordan will not enter into direct peace negotiations with Israel without an international umbrella. Therefore, it proposes holding an international conference of the permanent members of the UN Security Council and all the parties to the conflict. The American administration is now studying several ways for providing the international umbrella Jordan wants.

#### Tel Aviv's Reply

Following some heated debates, the Israeli government drafted a reply to Shultz's message saying "the Israeli government believes that holding an international conference in which countries who do not maintain diplomatic relations with Israel (the USSR and China) will participate is a step that does not serve peace. The government of Israel rejects the participation in future negotiations of members from the subversive organization known as the PLO or members who advocate the annihilation of Israel."

Israel called for direct negotiations between it and Jordan or a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation which does not include members "from the PLO or those who advocate the annihilation of Israel."

The Israeli reply emphasized Tel Aviv's refusal to hold a preliminary meeting between officials from the American administration and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation in preparation for direct negotiations between Israel and this delegation.

Political observers noted that the Israeli reply did not mention the PNC, which the American administration is now trying to promote as distinct from the PLO (!), but Israel's refusal to the presence "of members in the joint delegation advocating the annihilation of Israel" contained an allusion to the PNC, and the Palestinian National Charter specifically.

Political observers also noted that Israel's rejection of the international conference was conditional and qualified.

Peres had already announced that Israel's conditions for Moscow's participation in an international Middle East conference were the resumption of diplomatic relations and freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews.

In light of the above, the real dimensions and objectives of the "Israeli peace" plan are made clear.

This plan cannot be considered a peace plan because it did not contain any reference to Israel's visions of the nature and roots of the Palestinian problem. It is noteworthy here that the plan made no mention of the Camp

David Accords (CDA), the Reagan initiative or the "regional compromise" plan adopted by the Israeli Labor Party. In short, the ultimate goals of the direct peace negotiations called for in the plan are still unknown. This is due to the fact that Israel has no vision of a solution that will meet even a minimum of Palestinian and Arab demands, and any definition of the ultimate goals of the peace negotiations will surely destroy the fragile Israeli government coalition.

Hence, the Peres plan only offers a vision of how to start direct negotiations between Israel and the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. As for the intrinsic elements of this vision, they are: rejection of any PLO role in the peace negotiations, rejection of any preliminary talks between the American administration and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and the creation of an international umbrella for the direct negotiations by obtaining the support, not the participation, of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

The Israeli plan distinguishes between Palestinian representation in the preparatory stage and Palestinian representatives within the framework of negotiations.

Who will these or those be is not important. The important thing is that they will not be from the PLO. A comparison between Camp David's concept of the Palestinian delegation's composition and the one contained in the Peres plan reveals that the former is superior. The Peres plan talks about "selecting" genuine representatives for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip inhabitants "approved by all the parties," while the CDA talk about holding free elections "for the autonomy government" which will negotiate in the name of the Palestinians.

#### Shultz's Formula

The Peres plan, in brief, is aimed at holding direct negotiations between Israel and a Jordanian delegation that includes non-PLO Palestinian elements acceptable to Israel without requiring Israel itself to come up with any vision for the final settlement formula. Peres wants King Husayn to venture into the unknown.

Hence, it was natural that the Israeli plan should be met with negative, or at least cold Arab reactions.

The PLO rejected it. Cairo asked for Israeli clarifications on two main points: the role the Security Council members are expected to play and Palestinian representation in the negotiations.

In any case, the Israeli plan did not find any supporters outside its drafters. As for the American administration, as usual, it welcomed the plan, based on its general position which supports any peace plan that intersects, one way or another, with the American peace precepts.

Now, attention is not focused on the Israeli peace plan, but rather on the first practical interpretations of the results of King Husayn's talks in Washington. By that we mean the anticipated meeting in Amman between Murphy and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and the possible decisive results with regard to the fate of the peace process in the area.

Shultz has announced that his review of the strategic issues related to the Middle East was essentially completed. The American secretary expected talks to be held between a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and an American delegation, even if the PLO did not recognize Resolution 242.

He said: "I am sure that there are members in the PNC who can be considered outside the PLO."

As for the American State Department spokesman, "Edward Djerejian," he confirmed that Washington was ready to talk with PNC members.

The manner in which direct negotiations between the American administration and the PLO can be initiated, not direct negotiations between Israel and a joint delegation, is the focal point where the current peace efforts and initiatives intersect.

#### Principle of Self-Determination

The first preliminary meeting in Amman seems likely, but the second and more important one is still unknown. But the central question is: Will the current efforts succeed in eliminating the obstacle barring the path of talks between Washington and the PLO within the framework of a joint delegation?

Abu 'Ammar announced that the PLO will not accept Resolution 242 until the United States agrees to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, while Jordanian Foreign Minister Tahir al-Masri confirmed that the American administration will soon announce its support of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in accordance with the Amman agreement formula.

The first stage of the Peres plan is withdrawal from Lebanon. The subsequent stages are the achievement of a comprehensive peace. This plan takes off from deceptive withdrawal in the direction of deceptive peace.

12502

CSO: 4404/388

SYRIA

BRIEFS

LOAN FOR WATER PROJECT--Damascus, 15 Jul (SANA)--Syria and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development [AFESD] today signed a 3 million Kuwaiti dinar loan agreement as a contribution to financing the Damascus water project. The agreement was signed for the Syrian side by Dr Sabah Baqjaji, minister of state for planning affairs, and for the AFESD by Dr Muhammad al-'Imadi, the fund's director general and chairman of the board of directors. [Excerpt] [Damascus SANA in Arabic 1312 GMT 15 Jul 85 JN]

CSO: 4400/202

AFGHANISTAN

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY SAID KEY TO SOLUTION OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 26 May 85 p 2

/Text/ Recognition of the situation and position of industries and the quality of industrial production in every country and in every system of economy is of significant importance. Since it is through the establishment and expansion of industrial institutions that the first step towards employment opportunities is taken, and it is through the establishment of new industrial base and production facilities that not only the volume and capacity of production is increased but the possibility for the complete production of consumer goods becomes ever more available, thus, from the production of such merchandise the domestic needs will be duly provided for.

Another beneficial aspect of industrial development is that domestically produced goods fill the needs for foreign merchandise and replace their need, thus there will be a halt in the exodus of foreign exchange and the opportunity will be ripe so that through the export of processed industrial products more foreign exchange income will become available. In general, there is no denying the direct effect of industrial development on other areas of industry such as agriculture and other service industries which are all given a boost so that in the long run a more rapid growth of GNP and national revenue is obtained.

The effect on the growth of industries and the process of industrialization does not end here, however the social effects of this process is much more significant. Since the social objectives of the industrialization process has a direct effect on the life of a large sector of the society, thereby it brings with it a social restructuring and transformation of the stratal power and revamps the way of life on a societal scale.

The stratal factor in the industrialization process and development of industries is of fundamental and basic importance since the growth of industries has a direct relation to the essential and basic interests of the various strata of the society. It is as a result of the development of industries that the stratum of workers can grow, and become unified. As a result of the fear of such a unity, the reactionary and feudal rulers in close collusion and cooperation with bourgeoisie together with the monopolistic plunderings of the imperialists have prevented the development of industries in the country and thereby they have kept our society deprived of development and our toiling people away from the basic comforts of life.

With the glorious Saur revolution, and particularly its new and evolutionary stage, the nation's workers became the central focus of the revolutionary transformations and bright horizons were opened to all the toiling people of the country. It is but clear that they pay serious and particular attention to the industrialization of the country which in itself is the key to the solution of a large portion of our social and economic problems.

However, it is quite evident to everyone that the continuation of this process hinges on a peaceful work environment and the provision of a total public security throughout the country. And yet the shameless imperialists' interference--at the top of it American imperialism and the reactionary states of the region--in our internal affairs continues. And yet they prove their enmity and opposition towards our toiling people through arming and exporting counterrevolutionary bands in order to sabotage, commit murder and destabilize the security of our nation. As a result of this destruction up to now an equivalent of more than 35 billion afghanis worth of damage has been inflicted on our country. Nevertheless, in spite of the undeclared war of the imperialists which has been imposed on us, as a result of the well-organized plans of the revolutionary party and the government, together with the revolutionary work and efforts of our courageous nation new steps are taken every day in the direction of the development of the industries, mines and energy sectors. A brief look at the implementation of the social and economic plans for the past recent years will prove the validity of this point. We can see that in recent years that the projected objectives of this plan in the overall economic sector have been achieved. For instance, in the last year the gross products of industry, mines and energy sectors had a 4.6 percent growth over 1362 /21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984/---this translates into 33.9 billion afghanis with an average share in the total domestic GNP which rose from 22 percent in 1362 to 22.5 percent in 1363 /21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985/. Furthermore, in comparison to the previous year, the total factory products of this sector had an increase of 7.1 percent in the government sector and 9.8 percent in mixed and private sectors.

This growth is an indication of the wise utilization of the existing production facilities and is but the result of the proper organizational and technical measures which are aimed at enhancing the level of productions according to the guidance and instructions of the 11th plenum of the PDPA Central Committee with due attention to the present circumstances.

Here it should be mentioned that in this area as in many other areas the sincere assistance of socialist countries--with the Soviet Union at their head--is indeed praiseworthy. The industrialization and the development of our industries in the first place depends on the economic cooperation of the socialist and other friendly nations who are in line with our national interests and provide us with the safeguard against the influence of the new wave of imperialist agents within our country.

12719

CSO: 4665/99



AFGHANISTAN

COOPERATIVES OFFERING INEXPENSIVE, STABLE PRICES

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 27 May 85 p 2

/Text/ Our countrymen are witnessing the fact that everyday the number of government cooperative stores are increasing in many parts of the capital and other provinces of the country in order to eliminate shortages of the essential necessities of our toiling countrymen. Stability and lower prices together with the fine quality of the goods offered for sale in these stores is the main cause which always attracts and fills up these stores with customers. At times, there are long lines of anxious customers who are waiting their turns outside these stores. The creation and expansion of such stores ensure that the hand of the price-gougers and speculators, who are only thinking about filling up their own pockets, will be cut off from the market, and bears proper effect on the stability of prices. Further, through the organized plans and timely measures of the revolutionary party and the government the vain efforts of counterrevolutionary elements which are aimed at economic sabotage and creation of chaos and confusion in the nation's economy will be rendered futile.

With a view to coordinating the activities of the government stores, recently within the framework of the Ministry of Commerce the wholesale department has been created which at present is active in various neighborhoods of the city of Kabul with over 21 household goods stores, and 51 stores for the sale of sugar. The director of the wholesale department in answer to a question stated: Through the merger of the Friendship and Commercial Cooperative stores with those in charge of providing public necessities in 1363 /21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985/ the Department of Wholesale began its work. The shops and stores which belong to this department are located in different parts of the city and provide and present the very essential necessities to the general public such as foodstuffs, patterned woolen and cotton fabrics, perfumes, stationery supplies, various kinds of men and children's bicycles, different types of china and aluminum utensiles, granulated and lump sugar, bathroom tissues, black and green tea and hundreds of other similar items which are needed by our toiling countrymen.

From the beginning of the activity /October 23/ of this department until now an amount equivalent to 308 million afghanis of merchandise have been transferred to these stores and up to now an equivalent sum of 210 million afghanis of the available goods have been sold during this period.

Along with these stores, the Farmers' Cooperative Union of the DRA also has opened other new stores which sell foodstuffs and essential necessities in most



parts of the capital and provinces of the country and are ready to serve our countrymen. In addition, in this regard the role of the Consumer Cooperatives should also be noted. With regard to this matter a responsible source of the Farmers' Cooperatives Union stated: There are 178 cooperative stores throughout the country--out of this total there are 66 stores in the city of Kabul which make the essential goods and necessities available to our countrymen at reasonable and stable prices /10 to 25 percent below free market/. Moreover, in addition to the household goods and foodstuffs, these cooperative stores also sell farm tools and equipment.

Principally, the goods which are presented for sale in these stores are imported from the friendly and brotherly country of the Soviet Union. Besides, surplus production is purchased from the Farmers' Cooperatives and is presented for sale in these stores.

Lately, the Cooperative Department of Fruits and Vegetables has opened two stores for the sale of fruits and vegetables which present their merchandise to our countrymen at a price 25 percent lower than the free market.

Actually, in order to review the activities of these stores and also become familiar with the view of our toiling countrymen, I (correspondent) entered the wholesale store number one located at Mirveys Square. There is a large crowd inside this store. There are a lot of people, both men and women, in front of each department or pavilion. All the merchandise and goods are well within the view of the customers--neatly arranged in beautiful display cases one can see the varieties of articles ready to be purchased. The salesclerks answer the questions of the customers very politely.

There were more people gathered in front of the pavilion which sold clothing. One of the customers who seemed rather angry was arguing with one of the salesclerks; I interrupted and asked him the reason for his anger, he said: "I'm Seyyed Hashem, chief of the 5th branch of municipality's Department of Public Services. With due consideration from our revolutionary party and the government, for the purpose of helping our toiling countrymen and stabilizing the rise in prices these governmental stores were created to present their merchandise for sale at reasonable and lower prices than the free market. I, personally am very appreciative of this action taken by my revolutionary government and always purchase my essential necessities from these stores. However, I believe that whenever a certain article is made available for sale along with it there should also appear a price tag. For instance, you see that small roll of material /pointing his finger toward the fabric roll/ does not have any price tag and the salesclerk tells me to come back in a day or two--and if I come back two days later there will be no materials left, however there will be a price tag which would tell me what the material would have cost!"

Another customer who introduced himself as Mohammad Aslam, an 11th grade student of Rahman Baba High School went on to say: In order to provide better and

faster service to the customers they need a few more salesclerks in this store. Since this is a very large store and some departments or pavilions have only one salesclerk and if it happens that the clerk in question does not show up for work one day that particular pavilion will be closed for the day. It is two days now that I've come here to buy something from the perfume and cologne department, but since the salesclerk is not here the section is closed. To tell the truth, in such a large store where there are more than 40 salesclerks they need to have one or more emergency salespeople available so that in case of the absence of one clerk there would not be a standstill or a halt in the process of business.

In the store number two of the Cooperative Department of Fruits and Vegetables one of our countrymen made the following remarks: "In this store which sells fresh fruits and vegetables, for better preservation and protection of such perishable materials they need freezers, refrigerators and a proper ventilation system to help aerate and deodorize the store."

Through conversations with other countrymen some other problems also became clear. For instance, in the areas where there are government institutions or offices close to these stores the employees use their lunch break /12:00 noon to 13:00/ to come to these stores, since this is the best time for them to do their shopping. However, exactly at the same time interval these stores close for a lunch break of the salesclerks. For the purpose of resolving this problem it seems that it would be more appropriate if the break-time of the two groups were re-arranged so that one would not clash with the other. Namely, one group could take its break an hour before or after the other group. Furthermore, there are some items which seem to be laying around in the store for a long period, while at the same time other articles are in such a large demand that before they reach the shelves they are gone.

Here, attention should be paid so that those items which are less in demand are not imported and instead the articles which have a greater demand are more frequently imported so that the needs of our toiling countrymen are taken care of in the most efficient manner. And at the same time, as a result of preventing the import of some unneeded articles which cost a lot of money to prepare and tie up the capital investment or occupy a lot of space in the stores or warehouses, the problem of space availability and redundant items can be resolved.

12719  
CSO: 4665/101

AFGHANISTAN

MOVEMENT OF COOPERATIVES EXPANDING NATIONWIDE

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 3 Jun 85 p 2

/Text/ The Farmers' Cooperatives Union in 1363 /21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985/ had succeeded in creating 50 new farmers' cooperatives, two handicrafts cooperatives, four provincial and one district unions. The total members of these cooperatives in 1363 comprised 24,000 individuals with an equivalent capital share of 12 million afghanis.

The Farmers' Cooperatives Union of the DRA intends to create 37 consumer cooperatives, three handicrafts cooperatives and three provincial unions during the current year. Therefore, in the current year 1364 /21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986/ the total number of consumer cooperatives will be increased to 174, that of handicraft cooperatives will be increased to 31, and the number of urban and provincial unions will be 27 and the district unions will total 30 in number. The total members of these cooperatives in 1364 will be 71,000 plus 300 smaller shops for the sale of various merchandise which will work within the handicraft cooperatives' jurisdiction.

A responsible source from the Central Council of the Farmers' Cooperatives Union of the DRA stated: In the area of propaganda and publicity according to the party and the government's propaganda and propagation policy, the Farmers' Cooperatives Union in 1363 continued its efforts to enhance the movement of cooperatives and succeeded in holding 80 meetings, prepared and published 84 cooperative related pamphlets, had 80 interviews and set up 80 literacy courses throughout the country. At present, there are 800 farmers enrolled in the literacy courses of this union.

The Farmers' Cooperatives Union intends to hold 80 meetings for the enhancement of the cooperative movement and peace in 1364. Also it intends to create 300 new literacy courses throughout the country.

According to the policy of the PDPA, the Farmers' Cooperatives Union of the DRA makes every effort to stabilize the median price of agricultural and consumer goods and ensures the smooth flow and exchange of merchandise between the cities and villages. It also assures that its members have access to cooperative stores with certain privileges.

This union provides the needed merchandise available to its members at a 10 to 20 percent lower rate than that of the free market. Furthermore, the exchange

plan of goods between the city and the village provides the opportunity for the toiling farmers to obtain their needed consumer products through the village consumer cooperatives.

On the other hand, the cooperative stores can buy the surplus farm products of the farmers under better circumstances and thus sell the same in the city with a certain percentage of profit.

12719

CSO: 4665/95

AFGHANISTAN

STRENGTHENING FOREIGN COMMERCE IS GOVERNMENT GOAL

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 3 Jun 85 p 2

/Text/ After the victory of the Sawr revolution, particularly its new and evolutionary stage, the Ministry of Commerce according to the guidance and resolutions of the party and the government in order to be able to present its export products on the world market at a more favorable and reasonable price and at the same time acquire and import the needed quality goods for the country at reasonable prices from various sources, it has continually made an effort to expand and extend its commercial ties unconditionally with all the countries of the world.

In answer to a question from HEYWAD's correspondent, in addition to the above-stated remarks a source from the Ministry of Commerce of the DRA also stated: As regards the trade relations of the DRA with the friendly countries, and particularly with the socialist countries, in 1364 /21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986/ we are contemplating expanding and extending our commerce on the basis of reciprocal interests. For instance, the last trade protocol, which has recently been signed with friendly countries, indicates the strengthening and expansion of our commerce with such nations.

The source went on to add: The trade relations of Afghanistan with the countries which are within the circle of our foreign exchange partners will be based on the market situation and the circumstances of supply and demand. The Ministry of Commerce will make every effort in order to facilitate the process of foreign exchange trade, secure the sources of market situation and the conditions of supply and demand for the producers as regards the export of Afghani merchandise to foreign markets. Likewise, it will assure that the import of goods from those friendly countries will be in accord with the social needs and concordant with the interests of the people of Afghanistan and the national merchants. The various institutions of the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at their head, are all interested in the expansion and development of their trade with Afghanistan on the basis of mutual interest and particularly the favorable growth and development of our industries so as to strengthen the foundation of the economy and present the needed and essential goods to our people.

12719  
CSO: 4665/95

AFGHANISTAN

FERTILIZER, ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION INCREASING

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 12 Jun 85 p 1

/Text/ The glorious Sawr revolution has entrusted the toiling workers with a great mission. In addition to enhancing the level of production our reformistic workers are duty-bound to protect their work from the incursions and the encroachments of the counterrevolutionary bands and strengthen the production front as much as possible. The Fertilizer and Electricity Plant of Mazar-e Sharif enjoys an important position in providing the needs of the farmers as far as chemical fertilizer is concerned and also in supplying the power and electrical needs of the people and industrial institutions in the Balkh Province.

According to the resolutions and guidance of the party and the government authorities regarding the enhancement of the level of production, despite all the plots and schemes of the counterrevolutionaries, the sensitive workers and employees of the Fertilizer and Electricity Plant have shown a praiseworthy capability. In order to realize the resolutions and decisions of the 11th plenum of the PDPA Central Committee workers are defending their work establishment and carrying out their duties in an untiring fashion. Thus, for the purpose of acknowledging their efforts, during the current year the workers of this plant were awarded with the highly coveted prize of "the Banner of Work Contests" together with a check of 300,000 afghanis.

The respected Sharifi, director of the Fertilizer and Electricity Plant while making the abovementioned remarks in an interview with the HEYWAD correspondent also stated: According to the projected plan of 1363 /21 March 1984 - 20 March 1985/it had been determined that the Fertilizer and Electricity Plant of Mazar-e Sharif should produce a total of 100,000 tons of urea fertilizer and 213 million kilowatt-hours of electricity; however, as a result of the untiring attempts and efforts of the workers and employees of this plant in 1363 the production of urea fertilizer reached 120,506 tons and that of electricity was 230 million kilowatt-hours which showed a 20.5 percent increase in the projected plan for urea fertilizer and 8 percent increase in the production of electrical energy.

He went on to add: In 1363 an amount of 105,482 tons of chemical fertilizers with an equivalent value of 675,142 million afghanis were sold on the domestic market and an amount of 18,760 tons of fertilizer with an equivalent value of 105.08 million afghanis was sold to the Soviet Union. In a like manner, in 1363 this plant had an income of 30.489 million afghanis from the sale of 40.652 million kilowatts of electricity.

The same source added: It was decided to begin the work on the necessary repairs to the plant on 31 March and finish it within 23 days, however the sensitive and courageous workers of the Mazar-e Sharif Fertilizer and Electricity Plant realizing the economic significance of the fertilizer production, undertook to complete the repair of the production section in 9 days and that of ammonia section in 14 days.

12719

CSO; 4665/95

AFGHANISTAN

PDPA LITERACY 'BRIGADES' MAKING NOTICEABLE HEADWAY

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 12 Jun 85 p 2

/Text/ The experience of a three months activities of the literacy brigades indicated that the youth in resolving the most basic problems of our society and revolution, particularly the process of the elimination of illiteracy throughout the country have attained significant victories.

The above-stated literacy brigades during a three months period have made a survey of the number of the illiterates in eight cities, 19 districts and four subdistricts and as a result they've found 20,000 individuals who are prepared to take part in the literacy courses which are being offered.

A source from the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan reported that three months ago at the initiation of the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan the literacy brigades strike force was created by selecting members from among the youth of the city and the province of Kabul in which 483 individuals from the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan registered voluntarily.

After participating in a seminar on instructional methods which was held by the Ministry of Education's Department of Literacy the members of the literacy brigades strike force were conferred with a teachers' certificate. Upon termination of the seminar 35 persons from among the participants were chosen who were then divided into separate groups and dispatched to the provinces of Balkh, Samangan, Baghlan, Nangarhar, Qandahar, Farah and Parvan in order to buttress the movement for the elimination of illiteracy.

For a three months period, these literacy brigades worked in the cities, districts and subdistricts of their related provinces in order to help create literacy courses, organized the illiterates in the proper courses, assisted in the matter of literacy survey, conducted literacy classes, prepared instructional course materials, introduced voluntary teachers to conduct the courses and held seminars for the new literacy teachers.

In addition to the group and joint activities, the abovementioned brigades' members also took part in carrying out beneficial and constructive work individually. For instance, the members of the Balkh literacy brigade alone set up 14 group literacy courses and 50 individual ones where a total of 229 persons were enrolled in literacy courses.



AFGHANISTAN

CAPACITY OF POL-E KHOMRI SILO TO BE INCREASED

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 17 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] The Pol-e Khomri silo is the second and most important center for procuring foodstuff in the country. Construction was completed in 1336 [21 March 1957-20 March 1958] and it was put into operation with the material and technological cooperation of the friendly country of the Soviet Union.

In the early years, the Pol-e Khomri silo began operation with a limited capacity. However, after the victory of the new, evolutionary phase of the Sawr revolution, with the installation of more machinery, its production capacity has increased significantly.

The reporter for BAKHTAR INFORMATION AGENCY, quoting the director of Pol-e Khomri silo, reports that at the side of the previous storage facility, which had a capacity of 20,000 tons of grain, a new mill with the daily capacity of 180 tons of flour was put into operation.

With the operation of this facility, the flour production of Pol-e Khomri silo amounted to 13,000 tons. Not only does this amount provide for the needs of the laboring people of Baghlan, the coupon holders of the units of the armed forces and the work forces, and the workers and employees of Pol-e Khomri textile factory, the coal mine and other establishments of that province, but in addition, 60 percent of the surplus production is transported to Kabul.

Simultaneous with the operation of the mill at the side of the previous storage facility, which, with a capacity of 20,000 tons of grains, was not sufficient to keep the above-mentioned equipment active, the storage capacity of this facility was expanded to 40,000 tons of grain.

The construction work on that facility, which began in March 1984 with the brotherly and friendly cooperation of the Soviet Union, will be completed and the facility will be put into operation by the third quarter of this year [21 March 1985-20 March 1986].

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CSO: 4665/106

AFGHANISTAN

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION SUCCESSFUL IN SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT OF WOMEN

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 17 Jun 85 p 4

[Text] The democratic women's organization of Afghanistan, this pioneer regiment of the proud working women of our society, this year began the 20th year of its fruitful life. Since its establishment, the democratic women's organization of Afghanistan has organized expansive and fruitful cooperation to liberate the women of the country from decadent feudal and patriarchal relations and attract them to social life.

With the victory of the magnificent Sawr revolution and its new, evolutionary phase, true possibilities for the equality of women and men have been provided in our country and the process of attracting women to social life and having them participate in the revolutionary changes of our proud country were expedited. Efforts were made to liberate the combative and alert women of our country from confinement within the walls of homes and attract them to social life. Both before and after the victory of the Sawr revolution, the democratic women's organization of Afghanistan not only rose up as the torchbearer of the women's movement in the country, but fought fearlessly to achieve the lofty goals of the PDPA and has acquired the status of a pioneering organization for class struggle. Through persistent, brave work, the democratic women's organization of Afghanistan has been able to influence the masses of the women in the country. It has not only helped them to understand the realities and goals of the party and the Sawr revolution, but has gathered the most distinguished and outstanding women in the organization and has organized them among its ranks. At the present time, more than 40,000 combative and fighting women of the capital and the provinces have been organized in the ranks of the democratic women's organization of Afghanistan and the process of attracting and absorbing women to this pioneering organization continues on a large scale. In the course of the past few days alone, more than 800 women have acquired new memberships in this organization. At present, through 27 provincial councils, 21 city councils, 43 district councils, 35 regional councils and 1,188 primary organizations, the democratic women's organization

of Afghanistan advances its fruitful work among the women in the country and plays its role on a large scale to achieve the goals of the organization and the revolutionary government.

Furthermore, the central women's club has engaged in establishing women's clubs in the capital and provinces of the country to have women participate in specific social work, in which a number of working women are organized and employed in useful and productive work. In the city of Kabul, 17 women's clubs and in various provinces, 28 women's clubs have been established and have begun their fruitful work.

10,000

CSO: 4665/106

AFGHANISTAN

EXPANSION OF 'NEW EDUCATION SYSTEM' A FACTOR OF STRENGTH

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 23 May 85 pp 1-2

/Text/ The joint resolution of the Political Bureau of the PDPA Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the DRA dated April 3, 1985 regarding proper measures for the future growth and expansion of education was approved recently. Hereunder, we publish the contents of this resolution for the information of our countrymen.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic Government of Afghanistan consider the progressive growth of a national system of education as a worthy political and educational cause; likewise it regards the enhancement of the people's level of knowledge and education, the training of the youth with a sense of faithfulness and devotion towards the nation and the revolution, and the fight against imperialism and reaction as one of the main conditions for the strengthening of the political, economic and ideological foundations of society.

In the action program of the PDPA, the fundamental principles of the DRA, and decrees Nos. 26 and 28 of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA the methods of growth of the new system of education have been properly formulated and some practical and substantial measures have been taken towards their realization.

According to resolution 2136 of the Council of Ministers of the DRA /regarding the restructuring of education/, certain measures have been taken by the Ministry of Education, the party committees and social organizations during recent years in order to improve the status of education as much as possible. Thus, in response to this endeavor an educational system which befits the social, political and economic conditions of the country has been prepared and put into effect practically.

The articles of associations of the schools, the new instructional programs, the textbooks and other pertinent instructional materials have all been prepared and they've all completed the initial experimental stage. The Pedagogical Institutes of Kabul have been established and the training of teachers versed in teaching and preparing pedagogical cadres have all been carried out. Similarly, the efforts of the central organization of the Ministry of Education and its pertinent organs throughout the provinces have improved considerably. Furthermore, the Training and General Education Departments of the city of Kabul within the framework of the Ministry of Education have been created and the use of the mother

tongues (various tribes and ethnic groups) in teaching our native brothers has also started in the schools.

Despite the progress and the achievements, there are some serious deficiencies in the area of new educational system:

For instance, there is no definite joint working plan between the party and government organs as regards the implementation of the articles of the decrees of the Revolutionary Council and the resolutions of the Council of Ministers of the DRA. Furthermore, the provincial party committees and the governors have not understood their duties in the growth of the new system of education the way they should. Likewise, the political and ideological endeavors between the teachers and students do not enjoy a high level of awareness and objectivity and the existing educational system /the present fabric of schools, their textbooks, programs, etc./ has not properly improved. There is a need for experienced teachers and the technical and material base of the schools lack strength. The process for the absorption of the children into the primary schools is lagging far behind. And the general restructuring of the existing school system in conforming with the new educational system's contents is facing abundant problems.

However, despite the existence of all the problems the first stage of educational reform has been carried out and fairly favorable conditions exist in order to bring about some fundamental transformations in the nation's system of education. Right now the opportunity and the possibilities are available so that a new quality of educational system which is part of the educational reform can be put into effect.

It is necessary for all the schools throughout the country to be transformed into centers for the training of skillful and scientific experts who are full of love and devotion to the people and the revolution. The youth must be trained and made familiar with the contemporary principles of science and the laws of growth and evolution of society, so that they can understand and carry out their mission in reconstructing the new society in a much better way.

In order to improve the situation of education and strengthen the cooperation between the party and government organs and the social organizations as regards the growth of education in the country, the Political Bureau of the PDPA Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the DRA hereby approves:

1- The Ministry of Education, social organizations and the local organs of authority and governmental departments are duty-bound to prepare the grounds for the general compulsory education and do their best to carry out the measures contained in the new system of education.

The provincial party committees, the local organs of authority and the governmental departments together with the provincial directors of education are duty-bound during the year 1364 /21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986/ to organize a specific

plan for the growth of their educational systems in the provinces, cities, towns and districts accordingly, and follow up their efforts in order to form the necessary technical and material base and create a favorable and normal condition for the training and instruction of the children.

Likewise, for the purpose of strengthening the ties of cooperation between the social organizations, government organs and departments, workers collective unions, the armed forces administrations and the political committees are obligated to make every effort so that a balanced educational atmosphere is brought about throughout the country. In this regard, the first step should be taken in admitting the children of the toiling workers and improving and expanding the education opportunities among various tribes of the country.

2- The Ministry of Education in a joint effort with the party committees and the government organs is duty-bound to put general primary compulsory education into effect within the years 1364-1373 /21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986 to 21 March 1994-20 March 1995/.

To this end it would be appropriate to note:

A- With a view to the experiences gained through the first phase, for a more effective training and education in the restructuring of the new system of education one more year should be added to the period of primary education throughout the country. And with the consent of the parents the admittance of six year old children should be generalized.

B- Within six months the gradual 'realization plan' for the general primary compulsory education and its transformation in conformity with the contents of the new system of education with specific proposals should be presented to the Council of Ministers of the DRA.

C- In practice the new restructuring format of the schools total years should be divided into the primary education /grades 1 - 5/ intermediate /grades 1 - 8/ and secondary /grades 1 - 11/.

D- In a joint effort with the State Orphanage General Department, the productive and beneficial work of the students of the experimental schools and those of the orphanages should be organized so that the material base of the educational institutions are duly strengthened.

E- The articles of association for the schools should be modified to conform with the new format within three months.

F- A central apparatus and provincial organs affiliated with the Ministry of Education in conformity with the new format of the educational system should be formed.

3- The Ministry of Education is hereby obligated to design new plans and programs in order to prepare skillful pedagogical cadres and retrain the present

or previous teachers according to the requirements of the new education system, and implement the above-stated plans.

To this end, it would be necessary:

A- During the first quarter of 1364 course schedules, programs, textbooks and other necessary instructional aids for the training of teachers of kindergartens and primary schools should be prepared and the circumstances for the training and education of these teachers should be studied in the Pedagogical Institute.

B- As of the beginning of 1364 the teaching staff of the Pedagogical Institute--which is the only training establishment for the training of pedagogical cadres for all the teacher training establishments--will receive equivalent salaries and other benefits enjoyed by higher educational centers.

The Ministries of Education, and Higher and Vocational Education of the DRA are in charge of revising and administration of the abovementioned pedagogical institutes.

C- According to the regulations of the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education and in conjunction with the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan the method of admission and apportioning of the nation's youths from various parts of the country for admittance into the Pedagogical Institute and their dispatch to the place of origin after graduation should accordingly be devised.

D- As of the beginning of the year 1364 the level of skill and knowledge of the teachers as regards their assigned or pertinent duties should be systematically evaluated.

E- The roles and responsibilities of the teachers, the students of the upper grades of high schools and those of the teacher training centers should be enhanced in consideration of the elimination of illiteracy.

4- With an eye to improving the living and working conditions of the teachers and for the purpose of increasing their enthusiasm and interest in carrying out their assigned duties in the primary and secondary schools of the country, the Ministries of Education, Finance and the Department of Labor and Social Securities of the DRA are all duty-bound to prepare a plan for the spiritual and material encouragement of the employees of the educational and training institutions according to the following criteria and present the same with specific proposals to the Council of Ministers in the first quarter of the year 1364.

A- The provision of financial or material rewards for those education employees who are performing their duties in the remote areas of the country, particularly those employees who are teaching and training the tribal children in the frontiers.

B- The provision of subsistence rewards for those employees of educational institutions and the staff of the teacher training centers where their work is evaluated to be at a high level of performance.



5- The Ministries of Education, and Higher and Vocational Education in cooperation with the government planning committees and the Department of Labor and Social Securities should prepare an appropriate plan as regards the future training and expansion of education of the primary and secondary students according to the needs and requirements of the country in specified fields. Accordingly, the above-stated ministries should arrange for the vocational and technical training of the youths in the governmental institutions, and technical and vocational schools.

6- The Ministry of Education of the DRA in cooperation with the local organs of authority and governmental departments during the year 1364 should take stock and inspect all the equipment and relevant instructional materials of the schools throughout the country and through the available means and assistance of the local organs, governmental departments, social organizations and active participation of the local people, help obviate the needs or carry out the necessary repairs of the schools.

7- All the social organizations, the ministries, departments, institutions and other government organs during the year 1364 after the completion of the necessary repairs should put all the equipment and furnishings of the Ministries of Education, and Higher and Vocational Education at the disposal of the educational organs and other higher educational and vocational institutions.

8- The Municipality of Kabul and the Governor's Office are hereby instructed, where the possibility exists after completion of necessary repairs, to put government-subsidized lodging facilities which are suitable for use by the schools at the disposal of the Ministry of Education free of charge.

9- The government Planning Committee of the DRA, as of 1365 /21 March 1986 - 20 March 1987/ within the framework of the social and economic development and expansion plans of the country should consider its assigned duties for the purpose of preparing the required number of tables, chairs and other instructional equipment and according to the proposal of the Ministries of Education, and Higher and Vocational Education of the DRA also consider the acquisition of such items as writing paper and laboratory equipment from brotherly socialist countries in an orderly and concentrated fashion. It also should consider securing and procurement of assistance from international institutions.

10- The Central Statistics Department, the Ministry of Interior, the local organs of authority and governmental departments of the DRA are all duty-bound to regulate a precise system for the registration of births and deaths of the children as of the beginning of the year 1364 and thereafter, they should send a precise list of the number of children between 6-10 years old to the schools, annually. It is the duty of the Ministry of Public Health to carry out regular health-related tests of the school children.

11- The Ministries of Education, Nationalities and Tribal Affairs and the general director of the State Orphanage Department are all duty-bound to put into



effect the specific projected plans of 1364 regarding the improvement of education and training situation in schools and orphanages so that the tribal and ethnic children of frontiers' inhabitants are properly trained and educated.

Meanwhile, the construction and repair of schools and dormitories should continue and the duties of assigned teachers should be specifically determined. Likewise, the provision of textbooks and other instructional means for the border regions, particularly the tribal and nomadic regions of the country should be given serious attention. During the first quarter of 1364 the specific plan of the above-stated measures should be presented to the Council of Ministers of the DRA.

12- The Ministry of Education and the government Publication Committee of the DRA are duty-bound to provide the primary and secondary schools of the country with textbooks and relevant instructional materials which conform to the contents of the new system of education plans. They are obligated to make appropriate decisions in this regard and put them into action practically.

The government Publication Committee of the DRA should also with the agreement of the Ministry of Education publish literary and other instructional books for use by the children and adolescents.

13- Hereby the Ministry of Education, the governmental cultural, and the party committees are obligated to take measures in order to create libraries in the schools of the central province and throughout the nation; likewise, they are duty-bound to remove the devious and aberrant books from the shelves of the existing school libraries.

14- The Ministry of Education is duty-bound to pay serious attention to the transfer of textbooks and instructional materials to the provinces of the country. The Ministries of Defense and Transport, the governors' offices of the provinces and the district departments are obligated to help the Ministry of Education in transporting the textbooks and other instructional materials according to the projected plan.

15- The party committees and the government organs should seriously abstain from reassigning the teachers or other relevant employees of the educational system without the agreement of the Ministry of Education.

16- The Ministries of Education, and Higher and Vocational Education, party committees and the Committees of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan are obligated to set up lectures and regular seminars and publish textbooks and relevant instructional materials in order to enhance the political and ideological training of the teachers and the students. They should discourage and prevent any unfavorable measures which might disaffect or alienate the above-stated goals.

17- The provincial party committees, the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan's central committee, the Central Council of the Democratic Women Organization of Afghanistan, the Central Council of the Guild Unions of the DRA,

the Central Council of the National Fatherland Front, the Ministries of Education, Nationalities and Tribal Affairs are all duty-bound to take proper measures in order to principally improve the activities of the party committees and social organizations in the educational institutions. Similarly, they are obligated to pay serious attention to the matter of proper cooperation with the board of directors of the educational institutions so as to insure improving the training and educational process according to the revolutionary arrangements and discipline.

- For the purpose of the growth of the use of mother tongues in the school networks (brotherly nationalities) and securing them with the proper cadre, textbooks and other instructional materials, all the necessary measures should practically be carried out. Likewise, serious attention should be paid to the growth of such institutions (outside the school system) as the athletic palaces, scouting camps, etc.--and create favorable conditions for the execution of healthy activities for the children of the toiling people during the winter holidays.

The writers, artists and journalists' unions and other educational institutions ought to cooperate with the teachers and students for the enhancement of education in a practical manner.

18- The Propagation, Publicity and Instruction branch of the PDPA Central Committee is hereby obligated to utilize the experiences of the party committee of the city of Kabul in forging cooperation between the armed forces administration, social organizations and industrial institutions with the primary and secondary schools in order to strengthen the technical and material base of the schools and enhance the training process of the students. In a similar fashion, the experiences of joint cooperation between the central headquarters of the Ministry of Education as regards the generalization of the complex growth plan of new educational system throughout the provinces of the country should be put into effect.

19- The government Radio-TV and Cinematography Committee and other mass media apparatuses of the country are duty-bound to explain and elucidate the humanitarian essence and higher objectives of the new system of education toward the enhancement of social and economic growth of the nation, and systematically reflect the activities of the party and government organs and social organizations in the direction of the new educational system and publicize the beneficial collective experiences of the teachers.

12719

CSO: 4665/98

AFGHANISTAN

OVER 20,000 PURSUE STUDIES IN BADAKHSHAN

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 26 May 85 p 4

/Text/ According to a report by the general director of the training and education department of Badakhshan Province to the correspondent of HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR there are 66 schools with a total enrollment of 21,173 students of both sex in that province. Last year, there were 330 high school graduates. A few of those graduates who passed the university entrance examination went on to continue their studies in the higher educational institutes while the remainder found employment in various institutions.

In order to give a greater impetus to the growth of the quality of the new method of teaching, there are periodic seminars on methodology of teaching in which the teachers take part with a high morale toward the reconstruction of a new society and the enhancement of political and global knowledge of the students. So far such meetings have provided teachers with good experience. The director of training and education in another part of his conversation stated: For the first time, the victory of the Sawr revolution has provided the possibilities and the conditions whereby our women can participate in the reconstruction of our new society. For instance, the eradication of illiteracy among our countrymen, particularly the women is but one of the major achievements in the province of Badakhshan. Specifically, this matter has been given particular attention so much so that a large number of women have learned to read and write while there are many others enrolled in the literacy courses in order to achieve the same goals. In view of the particular significance of this matter, recently a new school called "Vital Literacy" was created in the province of Badakhshan where those women who as a result of some family difficulties or problems could not continue their education, or those women who as a result of the deviate feudal circumstances did not receive an education can enroll in this school and become literate. Furthermore, another school in the village of Sar-e Hoz in the Baharak district, which had been destroyed by the counterrevolutionary agents in 1358 /21 March 1979 - 20 March 1980/, has been reactivated and is in use now where the children of the toiling people of Badakhshan are learning to read and write. Creation of new schools and literacy courses and the enhancement of the level of education in the province of Badakhshan has always been a matter of continual concern and with the cooperation of the inhabitants of Badakhshan Province this process will successfully go on.

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CSO: 4665/99

AFGHANISTAN

MILLIONS TO BE SPENT TO IMPROVE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 29 May 85 p 1

/Text/ Through the process of trusteeship between the schools and the relevant institutions two new schools have recently become operational and 74.9 million afghanis have been distributed among schools in order to improve their material and technical foundations.

According to a report by a source from the branch office of the publicity for the propagation and instruction of the party committee in the city of Kabul as regards the completed work of the trustee institutions, it is stated that the depository institutions have carried out the fundamental repair work of 51 schools in the city of Kabul. Moreover, they repaired 33,771 tables and chairs, and very recently they finished the construction of 86 halls and conference rooms, 21 laboratories and 263 classrooms. Furthermore, 27,918 new tables and chairs have been manufactured.

The depository institutions have provided 38,044 panes of glass for the schools in their trusteeship and they have similarly assisted the schools by providing 41,018 books for their libraries. An amount of more than 648,000 afghanis worth of writing paper, 343 items including musical instruments, athletic and exercise equipment and drawing tools also were purchased for the schools.

The above-stated source added that according to the projected plan of the party committee of the city of Kabul, the Ministry of Education together with the Kabul Municipality, the primary and secondary schools of the city of Kabul and in co-operation with their depository institutions will carry out their joint projected measures toward the political, ideological and educational goals.

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AFGHANISTAN

EDUCATION MINISTRY TAKING NEW MEASURES TO EXPAND TRAINING

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 2 Jun 85 p 2

/Text/ Based on new and progressive methods of instruction, the Ministry of Education of the DRA in order to further the growth of training and education processes has adopted extensive assistance measures in the area of instruction throughout the schools. This assistance is carried out with the cooperation of social organizations in the form of holding conferences, preparing and writing articles on political information based on significant national and international events, preparing political lectures, assigning specific days for setting up newsstands and distributing pamphlets and newspapers among the students and others so as to increase the political awareness of the students.

In addition to the inclusion of the abovementioned subjects in the instructional materials of the schools, the subject of sociology has also been included. This subject is taught by the teachers who are graduates of the Institute of Social Sciences of the PDPA Central Committee. Furthermore, the activities of the party committees and social organizations have had and continue to have an important share in this operation.

In the sociology course the students learn about the laws of social evolution based on a universal and scientific socialism and its realization and effects on human society and phenomena. They also become familiar with the growth of the societal panorama in the national evolution of the democratic Sawr revolution.

Moreover, for the purpose of a better understanding of the historical truths and realities, the subjects related to the social studies for various grades of school children have been arranged on the societal evolutionary laws in a manner which reflects the true human evolutions.

This subject gives the students an opportunity to learn about the realm of scientific history and society where they can reflect on the life of society and that of the world, and discover their own role in the development of the country and carry out their proper mission for the national democratic Sawr revolution.

Also included in the instructional aid activities for the schools is the creation of pedagogical councils. These councils try to investigate and develop

the instructional and training affairs of the schools. The main duties of these councils comprise the implementation of instructional regulations and programs, establishment of a proper sense of discipline and order, unification of the teachers' activities, creation of an atmosphere of teamwork, practical implementation of the scientific accomplishments of the pedagogical and directive sciences, generalization of the pioneers' experiences in the realm of education, fulfillment of the projected school and teachers' methodic societies' plans, preparation of reports on the overall health regimen of the school and the students and other similar issues. Similarly, the pedagogical council of schools are in contact with various social organizations and the parents of the students through different committees and help in resolving the enquiries and problems facing the students and their families through mutual consultation and counseling. For instance, the eleven committees and the pedagogical councils throughout the schools in the city of Kabul have an important role in the education and training of the younger generation. They perform a worthy service by inculcating our students and teachers with the love of work, a sense of responsibility towards the country, rebuilding of a new society and preparing them to serve the people.

So far, the instructional aid activities have shown good results in the realm of training throughout our schools. To further the skills and enhance the capabilities of the students we can note the creation of polytechnics institutes in the new system of training and education of the country where in addition to learning the basic theoretical knowledge, the students can become familiar with the fundamentals of production processes and learn how to choose a vocation. The technical subjects of the programs included in the new system of education and training are of significance in that they create an experimental and practical opportunity for the students through the inclusion of workshops whereby they become interested in productive work and learn to enhance their own disposition and habit pattern in relation to hardwork.

Generally the instruction of school programs consists of three main areas such as technology, agriculture and vocation. In addition to learning the theoretical aspects of the subjects, our students also learn the practical side of the matter and increase their skills and capabilities through the courses of study which are offered at schools. Furthermore, with a view to enhance the growth of education among students, libraries have been created next to the schools of the country. Also social organizations and the pedagogical councils have had an important and effective role in arousing the interest of the students in the matter of study. Other accomplishments of the students' training and education in the city of Kabul consist of the creation of the eleven educational committees of the schools. These committees perform specific activities in different areas. For instance, the Art Committee prepare the grounds for the artistic aptitude of the students, the Instruction Committee is in charge of enhancing and assisting the students in a comprehensive way. In this committee, the council members help the students in resolving specific academic problems and provide them with proper guidance.

Only after the new and evolutionary stage of the revolution, which has provided the country's educational system with a scientific and progressive impetus, have such accomplishments become possible.

Today, the students and the youth of the country have become familiar with the realities of the policy of the PDPA and completely understand their own mission in the development and defending of the accomplishments of the revolution. On the one hand, through the performance of creative, intense and precise work they increase their level of scientific knowledge and on the other, in order to increase their capabilities they learn the new method of education to prepare themselves for the development of our dear country, the DRA.

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CSO: 4665/100



AFGHANISTAN

PUBLIC SERVICES EXPANDING

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 5 Jun 85 p 2

/Text/ Although economic development, growth of trade exchange, expansion of capital investment and enhancement of the living level of the people assuredly calls for the creation of insurance institutions and the extension of their services yet as a result of the indifference of the anti-progressive regimes of the era before the Sawr revolution, insurance services were introduced in our country rather late. Exactly twenty years ago to the day, the first private exploitative insurance services company began its activities. However, this company continued its activities in collusion with a British insurance company until 1353 /21 March 1974 - 20 March 1975/ when with the enactment and execution of the first insurance laws the opportunity became ripe for the Afghan share holders to buy the British shares.

After the victory of the glorious Sawr revolution, the formation of the National Insurance Company was announced and its new laws were published and went into effect in 1358 /21 March 1979 - 20 March 1980/ when accordingly the Afghan Joint Stock Insurance Company was changed to the Afghan National Insurance Company.

Thereafter, the above-stated company canceled its agreements with foreign companies and under favorable and beneficial conditions it signed new agreements with the Ingosstrakh /Joint Stock Insurance Society of the USSR/, and as of 1359 /21 March 1980 - 20 March 1981/ this insurance company has acquired new prestige in international insurance circles. Its initial capital of 15 million afghanis has increased to 75 million afghanis and a sum of 500,000 American dollars, which is equivalent to 21.5 million afghanis, has been invested in the Asian Insurance Trust Union. In addition, the draft of the new Articles of Association and its new laws together with mandatory regulations for car insurance covering the victim(s) of a car accident have all been re-arranged and completed.

Afghan National Insurance Company with the performance of its ever-expanding services insures commercial goods against risk in transit, it also insures factories, houses and other types of structures against fire and other incidents. Likewise, it provides comprehensive car insurance, also it insures commercial planes and cash in transit and provides coverage for cash in safe while in transit against theft and other incidents. The activities of this insurance company revolve around five fundamental principles: Trust, interest of the insured, compensation for loss or damages, resignation of competence and premiums. Along with the expansion and transformations which have taken place in the Afghan National Insurance Company, its revenues of 267.41 million afghanis in 1361 /21 March 1982 - 20 March 1983/ had grown to 425.28 million afghanis in 1362.



12 August 1985

## AFGHANISTAN

## LAW GOVERNING HEALTH SERVICES, PHARMACIES OFFER PROTECTION

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 8 Jun 85 p 2

/Text/ The law-making authorities of the country are constantly making an effort to improve the conditions of the social life through the planning and enactment of progressive laws as much as possible. It is for this purpose that the laws pertaining to pharmacies have been enacted and put into effect in order to provide medicines and regulate the medical services which are needed by our countrymen. These ground rules hold an important place in the lives of our countrymen and there should be serious and unswerving efforts in observing and implementing these laws.

According to the 2nd article of the abovementioned laws, the pharmacies are established in order to provide permissible medical equipment and sell medicines. The use of the word permissible specifically makes it clear in this article of law that under no circumstances are the pharmacies allowed to sell impermissible drugs and medical paraphernalia, since the sale of such items will incur irreparable damages to the health and hygiene of the people. Past experience has proven that the use of various drugs, which have not been prescribed by a physician, can cause serious harm instead of providing any relief and at certain times they can lead to death. Thus, according to the law all the pharmacies and drug stores are obliged to sell only the medicines which are prescribed by a competent physician--of course the medicines which are listed as permissible for sale over-the-counter by the Ministry of Health are excepted from this rule. In case of a proven violation of the law the owner of the pharmacy in question will be fined 1,000 afghanis and if such violations lead to an illness, invalidity or death of an individual, the perpetrator(s) will be punished by law accordingly.

The main purpose for the establishment of the pharmacies is to provide effective medical services for the patients on the basis of a humanitarian spirit. Therefore, although the pharmacies are engaged in the business of buying and selling, yet they are qualitatively different from the stores which are merely in business for personal profit and commercial gains. In consideration of this fact, according to the 5th article pertaining to the pharmacies, the percentage of profit by drug stores should not exceed 12 percent above the wholesale price. In case of violation, according to article 23 of the pharmacies' laws, the permit holder of the pharmacy in question will be fined 50 afghanis for every one afghani of overcharge.

Narcotics which are permitted necessary for sale by the responsible authorities ought to be kept and controlled in a separate area so that they cannot incur any unnecessary harm or damage to our countrymen. According to article 20 of the pharmacies' laws the manufacturers of medicines are responsible for the control and care of narcotics and they are also obliged to regularly report the sale of such items to the pertinent organs of the Ministry of Health. In case of violation, according to the 25th article pertaining to the pharmacies, the drug manufacturer in question will be fined a cash amount as specified by law.

12719

CSO: 4665/97

INDIA

# NEWSMEN SCORE RAJIV U.S. VISIT COVERAGE ARRANGEMENTS

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Jun 85 p 9

[Article by R. Chakrapani]

[Text] WASHINGTON, June 19--In a joint letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, seven U.S.-based Indian journalists have brought to his notice the "gross bureaucratic misconduct" by an official in the Prime Minister's secretariat that resulted in unsatisfactory "pooling arrangements" for the press and consequent lack of adequate coverage of some of the Prime Minister's newsworthy engagements during his U.S. visit.

They tried to hand over the letter to Mr. Gandhi personally, but because of the tight security, this could not be done. Instead the letter was routed to the Information Adviser to the Prime Minister, Mr. H. Y. Sharada Prasad.

The letter was signed by Mr. J. N. Parimoo (Times of India), Mr. Bharat Karnad (Hindustan Times), Mr. R. Chakrapani (THE HINDU), Mr. Inderjit Bhadwar (India Today), Mr. A. Balu (PTI), Mr. Sanjiv Prakash (UNI) and Mr. T. V. Parasuram (PTI).

A "press pool" is created where space considerations do not allow the entry of all correspondents seeking to cover the same function. The pools are formed with four or five representatives with the consent of the entire press group or where there are more claimants than the required number, the pool is formed by drawing lots. It is obligatory on pool members to prepare an agreed version and display it on the board for the benefit of others wishing to cover the same function.

A farce: In their self-explanatory letter to the Prime Minister, the signatories said: "We are referring to Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar, Assistant Information Adviser, who was put in charge of forming the press pools for the purpose of covering your visit. These pools were to be formed in consultation with the press on June 11. The exercise turned into a farce, because of the behaviour of Mr. Aiyar. He became progressively biosterous and abusive during the hour or so he spent with us in the press room.

"He was arbitrary, highhanded, and capricious in the way he handled his assignment. His choice of reporters to be assigned to various pools was based, not on the legitimate interests of news coverage but, apparently, on his personal agenda. As a result many of us became constrained.

"During the June 11 meeting Mr. Aiyar ridiculed reporters who were present, made irrelevant remarks about their wanting to "dance with Nancy Reagan" and proceeded patronisingly to define for us the difference between news, features, visuals and spot news.

"Many of us have spent a virtual lifetime in this business and have never witnessed either in India or abroad this kind of arrogant officiousness and mindless indifference to the sensibilities of the reporters of the free press that Mr. Aiyar displayed.

"Some member of the press were so insulted by Mr. Aiyar's conduct that they considered boycotting all further press briefings. But they changed their mind because they did not want bureaucratic peccadillo to mar the significance and importance of the visit. We believe that a certain amount of tension and rivalry between a free press and the Government is healthy for a democracy. But neither institution should turn that rivalry into gratuitous and abusive hostility".

CSO: 4600/1734

INDIA

## U.S. REPORTED TO TELL RAJIV STAND ON AFGHANISTAN

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Jun 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 20.

The United States is now mooting "Finlandisation" of Afghanistan as a possible way out of the present impasse, to enable the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops as part of an overall agreement with adequate guarantees against all forms of foreign interference in the internal affairs of this strategic nation.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, was given to understand during his talks with many top personalities in the Reagan Administration that the U.S. was not averse to some such arrangement to ensure the independence and integrity of Afghanistan without impairing its special relationship with the Soviet Union.

The Indian delegation was also told that the U.S. was passing on this idea to Moscow for what it was worth on the eve of the fourth round of U.N.-sponsored indirect talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which opened in Geneva today with the Secretary-General's special representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, acting as a contact man between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries, Mr. Shah Mohammed Dost and Mr. Yaqub Khan, functioning from adjacent rooms without engaging in any direct discussions.

**U.S.-Soviet talks:** U.S. and Soviet officials who met in Washington this week after three years for a private exchange of views on the Afghan problem are reported to have had a useful discussion on several aspects including the American idea of "Finlandisation". Though it has been kept informed of this new proposition, the Reagan Administration has not specifically asked India to convey the idea to the Soviet Government during the current visit of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, to Moscow to brief the Soviet officials on the outcome of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Washington.

**Different from neutralisation:** There is a significant difference, as the Americans see it, between neutralisation, Finlandisation and restoration of the non-aligned status of Afghanistan.

While neutralisation is an imposed solution with a mandatory obligation to steer clear of any political or military entanglements, Finlandisation would leave Afghanistan free to function as a non-aligned country retaining its special relationship with the neighbouring Soviet Union.

It would leave Afghanistan free, as in the case of Finland, to maintain close relations with other countries so long as those links are not detrimental to Soviet interests. There would be no other limitation of any kind on the sovereignty, territorial integrity or non-aligned status of Afghanistan under this arrangement. The country would be entitled to trade freely with the power blocs, receive aid and other forms of developmental assistance without impinging on the special political relationship with the Soviet Union.

The concept of Finlandisation is quite different from the voluntary neutrality of Switzerland or the treaty commitment made by Austria with the four occupying powers—the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain and France—to keep out of any military entanglements. It varies from these two types of neutrality in the sense that there is only an implied obligation, and not a firm treaty commitment, in the case of Finland to maintain a special relationship with the Soviet Union.

**U.N. plan:** The current indirect talks in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan, which have been described as "proximity talks", are aimed at ending the 18-month-long impasse in the shadow dialogue that Moscow and Washington have been engaged in since 1982 through their surrogates to evolve a mutually acceptable basis for settling this problem.

The U.N. plan envisages a phased Soviet withdrawal within an agreed time-frame, the guarantee of Afghanistan's territorial integrity by the five permanent members of the Security Council, along with adequate assurance of non-interference in its internal affairs by Pakistan, and the return of the five million Afghan refugees to their homes.

INDIA

## POSSIBILITIES OF RAJIV VISIT TO PRC EXAMINED

### Recent Relations Reviewed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Jun 85 p 8

[Article by A. S. Abraham]

[Text]

NO sooner had the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, returned from his foreign trip than the Chinese put out an official statement indicating an early visit by him to China. Official sources in New Delhi have clarified that no such journey is in the works and that the Chinese statement is a repetition of an earlier one last November when Mr. Gandhi had accepted an invitation to go to China extended to him by the Chinese vice-premier, Mr. Yao Yilin, who had come to New Delhi to attend Mrs. Indira Gandhi's funeral. At the time, a Chinese foreign office spokesman said that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had expressed his willingness to make an early visit.

But even if the present Chinese statement is no more than a reiteration of an earlier one, that does not make it any the less interesting. In fact, it becomes interesting precisely because it is a repetition. It is an indication that the Chinese would very much like India's Prime Minister to travel to their country. The indication is all the stronger for coming in the context of the Prime Minister's just-completed visits to Egypt, Algeria, France and the United States, preceded by an equally significant trip to the Soviet Union.

The Chinese media, which is to say the Chinese government, have made favourable comments on his journey, especially that to the U.S. Earlier, as was first reported exclusively by this paper, about the time Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was in Russia, the Chinese officially, if privately, invited India to reopen its consulate-general in Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, that office, along

with Indian consular representation in Shanghai, having been wound up in 1961 before the border conflict the following year.

The mutual reopening of consular offices (Chinese consulates in Bombay and Calcutta were reciprocally closed at the same time) is unlikely to happen just like that any more than Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is going to go post-haste to China just because, in both cases, Beijing appears keen on them. But, again, the Chinese are signalling that they want Sino-Indian relations to warm up faster than has been the case so far.

### Growing Impatience

Part of the explanation for Chinese eagerness to revive the "Hindi-Chini-bhai-bhai" spirit of the fifties and to start doing so by working from the top downwards lies perhaps in their growing impatience with the series of discussions on the border dispute that senior officials of both countries have been holding for the last few years. In fact, these are not talks so much as talks about talks, for in the five rounds of palavering that have been held alternately in each other's capitals, the agenda has been the general principles that should govern the actual negotiations, whenever these might start, on the border dispute. The sixth round, which may be held later in the year, is unlikely to go beyond such procedural wrangles.

The Chinese have consistently taken the view that the restoration of Sino-Indian relations to their pristine closeness is the best means of ensuring that the border dispute is amicably resolved. It is in

this light that gestures such as the invitation to reopen the Lhasa consulate and their persistence in wanting senior Indian leaders, from the Prime Minister downwards, to visit China must be seen.

No less consistently, however, India has maintained that the biggest obstacle to the normalisation of relations is the border dispute and that, so long as this remains unresolved, other moves can at best accomplish only so much. Indian resistance to going as fast towards normalisation as the Chinese would wish is grounded in the belief that warm relations are the consequence of a settlement of the border dispute rather than the other way round.

Specifically, the two sides have taken as yet unreconciled positions on what should constitute a settlement. The Chinese want a "package deal" under which they would accept the MacMahon line of actual control in the eastern sector, so conceding Indian ownership of Arunachal Pradesh, as well as in the middle sector in the Himachal-U.P. region where India retains control of its territory broadly up to the international border, in return for Indian acceptance of Chinese claims to and occupation of 14,500 square miles of territory in Aksaichin in the western sector which India says is under its ownership. Since a vital road connects Sinkiang with Tibet, China regards Aksaichin as strategically crucial. The Indian counter-argument is that it has no less crucial strategic interests in the area and that a simple swap of eastern and middle sectors for the western sector is just not on. Far better to examine the claims by both countries sector by sector to determine who owns what where.

### Meaningless Ritual

The meandering talks-about-talks on the border dispute have become, for all practical purposes, a ritual into which both countries have locked themselves. China wants to proceed as if that conflict did not exist; India acts as if nothing else mattered. It is as if, knowing that neither of them will, quite literally, give ground, they are nevertheless agreed that at least the motions of looking for a solution must be gone through if only to keep the issue from becoming violently contentious again.

But while the discussions are, in effect, stalemated even as they go on and on, the world around the two protagonists is rapidly changing. What is more, the two protagonists are themselves changing, in some respects in not dissimilar ways. These changes cannot but affect their relations, even if at one level they remain static as a

result of the failure to root out the causes of the 1962 border war.

Owing to these internal and external changes, both countries find their local and global environment in a state of flux. Domestically, India is moving towards greater economic pragmatism and flexibility and a corresponding weakening of the bureaucratic stranglehold on development. Although this process began during Mrs. Indira Gandhi's second term in 1980, it has accelerated under the present dispensation. In China, following the ten-year catastrophe (1966-76) that was the cultural revolution, the Deng regime has, within a weakening communist framework, also moved towards greater pragmatism. Both countries are in pursuit of modernisation through technological change.

Politically, too, some convergence can be seen. The Chinese opening to the West came when its still troubled relations with the Soviet Union were at or near their nadir. But disenchantment with the West, especially the U.S., was soon to follow. Some of China's economic compulsions also dictated that it seek to repair relations with the Soviet Union. Modernisation that led to dependence on one supplier or bloc of suppliers was to be avoided by dealing with others as well. Modernisation entailed, too, the concentration of scarce funds on economic development. For this, regional and international stability were vital because, otherwise, it would have to be guns rather than butter. That is why even though the Soviet Union remains China's principal enemy, it has begun to temper its rhetoric and soften its hostility. Non-alignment, for both India and China, is the name of the game.

### Underlying Fear

China's main foreign-policy objective is to counter diplomatically, since it cannot do so militarily, what it sees as its encirclement by the Soviet Union. This fear underlies its persistent demand that Russia thin out its troop levels along the Sino-Soviet border and in Mongolia, pull its soldiers out of Afghanistan, and pressure Vietnam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. At first, China's strategy was to play its "America card" against the Soviets, but when its initial ardour for the U.S. began to cool, it decided simultaneously to try and make up with Russia.

India figures in Chinese calculations because it has previously demonstrated, and again now with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's foreign trip, that it has good relations with both superpowers without subordi-

nating its interests to either. China also perhaps estimates that such leverage with the Soviet Union as India has could be used to Beijing's benefit. Growing Indian clout in the third world, as contrasted with China's declining influence there following its embrace of the U.S. (although that decline was arrested when it later distanced itself somewhat from America), also makes New Delhi attractive in Beijing's eyes.

If this is so, then, China will have to restrain itself in helping Pakistan go nuclear, a policy that goes against its belated realisation that it has a direct stake in subcontinental stability. It has been giving Pakistan design assistance

since the late seventies, despite some American efforts to dissuade it. The Sino-U.S. nuclear co-operation agreement, initialled last year, has been held up because Beijing has refused to give adequate assurances that Pakistan is not building a nuclear bomb. China's relations with Pakistan, especially in the nuclear field, will be for many in India the litmus-test of its sincerity in repeatedly calling for the revival of fifties-style Sino-Indian relations. While these relations are no longer in the trough of indifference where they have languished for some two decades, they are still a long way from being as comradely as China seems prematurely to wish them to be.

### 'Delhi Cool to Offer'

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 26 Jun 85 p 5

[Article by Rita Manchanda]

[Text]

New Delhi, June 25: India is unlikely to respond positively to the Chinese offer for a summit. During the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's recent visit to the US, a series of reports appeared in the press, indicating the possibility of Mr Gandhi visiting China in the near future.

The Chinese leadership is keen that in the overall reassessment of India's relations with neighbours and the super powers, Beijing should also be included. The Chinese hope that a summit will shift the emphasis away from resolving the border dispute to normalising relations on sectors like trade and exchange programmes.

India's position, on the other hand, is that the border dispute has to be resolved before normalisation of relations in other sectors. The foreign ministry has categorically said there has been no shift in this stand. The five rounds of border talks have also not encouraged New Delhi to believe that Beijing is willing to make a meaningful concession that could break the impasse on the border talks.

The last round of talks in Beijing, held in November, failed to agree upon the principles that would govern the settlement of the boundary dispute. The only outcome of the talks was the pious rhetoric of "mutual accommodation" and "mutual understanding." It was, however, decided that the next round of talks to be held in New Delhi some time in September or Octo-

ber, would focus on the actual border. Foreign ministry officials feel a summit at this stage will signal a degree of normalisation that has not yet been reflected in the border negotiations.

Moreover, Mr G. Parthasarathy, chairman of the Policy Planning Commission, still has a controlling influence on India's China policy, as opposed to the nation's policies on Sri Lanka or the US where other decision-makers have increasingly made their presence felt. Mr Parthasarathy was the last ambassador to China before the 1962 war. He is believed to have very definite views and although the Prime Minister has not yet had time to take stock of India's relations with China, he is expected to be influenced by Mr Parthasarathy.

Mrs Indira Gandhi, after she returned to power in 1980, had a brief exchange of views with her counterpart, Mr Zhao Ziyang, in Cancun. The Chinese vice-premier, Mr Yao Yiling, came to New Delhi for the funeral of Mrs Gandhi but there was no dialogue with the Indian leadership although he conveyed Mr Zhao Ziyang's invitation to Mr Gandhi to visit Beijing.

The recent announcement in the press of Beijing's offer to open consulates in Bombay and Calcutta with India opening consulates in Lhasa and Shanghai are part of China's strategy of normalising relations without solving the border dispute.



INDIA

UK REPORTED TO TRY FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Jun 85 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 21.

The British Government is making a renewed effort to improve relations with India by eliminating the frictions that have developed over its handling of the Sikh extremists in the United Kingdom.

The Indian High Commissioner-designate, Dr. P. C. Alexander, who arrived in London last Wednesday to take up his new assignment, is due to present his credentials to the Queen on Monday and call on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, a few days later to establish personal contact at the highest level of the British Government.

He is due to meet the British Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and the Minister of State, Baroness Young, besides senior officials like the Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Sir Antony Ackland, for a general exchange of views on Indo-British relations, before calling on Mrs. Thatcher for important discussions on what could be done by both countries to remove the current strains.

The Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, will be paying a visit to London in September on his way to the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in the Bahamas or on his return journey from New York after attending the summit-level meetings of the General Assembly and Security Council to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

**American precedent:** The US has certainly set the right precedent for Britain to have a similar understanding with India on fighting terrorism. The joint statement issued at the end

of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit urged all governments to take appropriate steps to combat this

new menace. The US expressed its readiness to have "continued consultation and close co-operation" with India on the "international dimensions of terrorist violence" directed against it.

If the US could make such a categorical commitment, there is no reason why Britain should fight shy of giving a similar assurance to India that it would take strong action against those Sikh extremists preaching disaffection, propagating secession and threatening violence against a fellow Commonwealth country. So a similar announcement by Britain at an appropriate time can be expected after the new High Commissioner has completed his first round of courtesy calls and informal exchanges on the present state of Indo-British relations.

**Helicopters controversy:** The Westland helicopters controversy has ended for all practical purposes since India is on the verge of buying the Dauphins from France. But it is going ahead with the Sea Harrier deal to acquire 10 more of these jump jets at a cost of over Rs. 100 crores.

After having voiced their resentment in a telling manner, the Prime Minister and his advisers evidently feel that it would not be in India's interests to allow the present strains in Indo-British relations to continue beyond a point. The stage is thus set for some meaningful moves from both sides in the next few weeks to restore the old cordiality before Mr. Rajiv Gandhi visits London.

CSO: 4600/1740

INDIA

PAPERS REPORT MEETING OF CPI CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

Report on Subjects Discussed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Jun 85 p 12

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 20: The CPI has described as serious the clashes between the armed police of Assam and Nagaland and urged the Union government to intervene effectively to settle the dispute "without loss of time."

The party wanted the Geographical Survey of India to complete the boundary demarcation.

The central executive of the party also discussed the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, to extend "full support to the united movement for restoration of democracy in the state."

"Getting more and more isolated from the people, the G.M. Shah ministry in sheer desperation is seeking the support of anti-national and secessionist forces spearheaded by the reactionary Jamaat-i-Islami and its student wing Jamiat-ul-Tulaba to disrupt the popular movement for restoration of democracy," the party executive said.

The executive urged the Central government to dismiss the G.M. Shah ministry immediately and to restore democratic processes in the state by ordering fresh elections.

It condemned the gunning down of five communist leaders of Modangunge village in Chosi block in Gaya district in Bihar.

It expressed its sympathy for the cyclone victims in Bangladesh and sent a token donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Prime Minister's relief fund.

It appreciated the gesture of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in not only offering relief items worth Rs. 1 crore but also personally visiting Bangladesh together with the Sri Lanka President to demonstrate India's solidarity with the people of Bangladesh in times of crisis and catastrophe.

# Rao Talks to Press

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 21 Jun 85 p 5

[Text]

CPI general secretary C Rajeswara Rao said on Thursday that the existence of the CPI and CPI-M, both, would be endangered if they did not unite. He said there was pressure from the rank and file of both the parties to forge unity.

Addressing newsmen at the end of the three-day Central Executive Committee meeting of the party, Mr Rao said: "The people behind both the parties and like-minded sections wanted the two parties to give up their narrow, partisan attitudes and unite to discharge their responsibility at this crucial juncture in our country".

What were the two communist parties, both, in size and influence, in a big country like India? he asked and added that if only they came together would they be able to make some gains. "Neither the CPI nor the CPI-M will be there if things continue as they are".

When Mr Rao's attention was drawn to a recent statement of CPI-M leader M Basavapunniah in Calcutta where he had allegedly questioned the CPI's bona fides as a communist party, the CPI leader said he was surprised that the Marxist leader had publicly attacked the CPI when the two parties had reached a degree of understanding.

**Petty-mindedness:** "It is petty-mindedness on our part to gloat over small gains as also on the part of the CPI-M leaders", said Mr Rao. It was such attitudes that were keeping the two parties apart. Had they instead united together with other democratic parties, the Left parties would have certainly "made a mark on the political situation in the country".

Mr Rao pointed out that in the course of their several meetings between the two parties after the polls, the leaders of the two parties had decided to forget past differences and work jointly on certain issues. Therefore, it was unfortunate that Mr Basavapunniah was raking up past controversies.

The CPI was in favour of forming fronts of Left and democratic parties in most States, something to which the CPI-M leaders did not agree, said Mr Rao. The CPI-M wanted to form such fronts only in States where it could be the dominant partner. Had the Marxists changed their attitude, Left and Democratic Fronts would have become a rallying point in various States, said Mr Rao.

He informed that many parties had approached the CPI to form such fronts in the States. "We told them that we are keen on the idea but you must go and convince the CPI-M leaders".

Outlining the present arrangement for joint actions between the two communist parties, Mr Rao said an all-India level coordination committee had been formed which would work out the course and modalities of joint action.

The CPI wished to form such committees at the State-level too, but the CPI-M was averse to the idea, Mr Rao said. Therefore, it has been decided that whenever the need arises the State leaders of the parties would meet and sort out issues.

**Joint draft on Govt policies:** Mr Rao said the two parties had jointly drafted a note on the Government's economic policies which has been sent to the Opposition parties. If at all there is a joint movement of Opposition parties on the budget, it would be on the basis of their reaction to this note.

The CPI leader said that the CEC had discussed the political situation in the country with particular reference to Punjab, Assam, Jammu and Kashmir and Gujarat. Apart from this the question of land reforms, the Prime Minister's foreign visits, Assam-Nagaland border clashes and the Terrorist Act were taken up by the body.

The CPI will hold a week of mass campaign from 13-20 July on Punjab, Gujarat, Assam and Jammu and Kashmir issues. On Punjab, the CPI sees a ray of hope as the Longowal Akali Dal had come out against terrorism. Mr Rao said it was necessary now to get the Akalis to the negotiating table and sort out the remaining differences. He asked for polls in Assam — both to the Assembly and Lok Sabha, and demanded the immediate dismissal of the G M Shah Ministry in Jammu and Kashmir. He also warned of rising communalism in Gujarat.

The CPI plans to hold agitations for implementation of land reforms in the country. Mr Rao said State units have been asked to identify large landholdings where agitations could be launched. They have also been asked to suggest ways of plugging loop-holes for checking violations of land ceiling laws.

**PTI adds:** The party urged the Centre to convene all-party meetings immediately to solve the Punjab problem and to work out national guidelines on the reservation issue.

In separate resolutions adopted at the CEC meeting, it urged the Government to "lose no time and come forward with package proposals" for a solution of the Punjab problem.

Response From CPI-M

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Jun 85 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, June 22: The CPI(M) today made it clear that it had "fundamental ideological-political differences" with the CPI and these would remain despite current efforts to work jointly on certain issues. The CPI interpretation of Marxism-Leninism was wrong and therefore, it was not a Communist party, it emphasised, echoing the comment made by the party leader, Mr Basavapunniah, earlier this month.

In a statement released by the politburo today, the CPI(M) took strong exception to some of the remarks made by the CPI general secretary, Mr Rajeswara Rao, on Thursday, particularly his statement criticising Mr Basavapunniah, for saying that the CPI was not a Communist party.

Justifying this contention, the CPI(M) statement said the fundamental difference between the two parties was their differing interpretation of Marxism-

Leninism as applied to Indian conditions. The statement pointed out that the united Communist Party had split because of these differences and "after the split too, the two parties fought each other on these ideological issues."

On Mr Rao's statement that the CPI(M) had not agreed to the CPI suggestion on the formation of a "front of Left and democratic parties," the statement clarified that it was the CPI(M) that had initiated the move to form such a front.

It also dismissed as "absurd" Mr Rao's allegation that the CPI(M) was only interested in Left unity where it was dominant. The CPI(M) was keen on united action everywhere, the statement said, adding "our party, which became strong in some areas because of Left unity would naturally work for unity elsewhere."

Giving details of the CPI(M)'s efforts to forge unity among left

and democratic forces, the statement said the CPI(M) had called for unity of action against the "anti-people budget proposals of the Union government." Although several parties were approached, the meeting of different Opposition leaders including the Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, and Congress(S) president, Mr Sharad Pawar, did not take place because they were "not available." The general secretaries of both the CPI and the CPI(M), however, met the Lok Dal president, Mr Charan Singh, in the course of their efforts to discuss united action.

The CPI(M) statement made it clear that the central coordination committee was more important than a state level committee. It added, however, that the committee had not been functioning properly and hoped that recent inter-party discussions on its improvement "will be satisfactorily worked out."

CSO: 4600/1742

INDIA

# COMMUNIST PARTIES PRAISE RAJIV ACTION OF SRI LANKA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Jun 85 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 21: The Communist Party of India has praised the initiative of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, in bringing about a cease-fire in Sri Lanka.

The CPI said this indicated the "goodwill of India for a peaceful settlement of the ethnic problem and for promoting good-neighbourly relations between the two countries, so vital for the security of both the countries against imperialist designs and for peace in the region."

The party also welcomed the proposals made by the Communist Party of Sri Lanka for a political solution of the demands of the Tamil within the framework of a united Sri Lanka and for regional autonomy for the Tamil majority areas.

The CPM general secretary, Mr. C. Rajeswara Rao, said "all democratic and progressive forces both in India and Sri Lanka would welcome this development and hope that all parties concerned would move forward for a political solution by overcoming any attempts to undermine the terms of the ceasefire."

"The government of India should further extend its goodwill to ensure that a negotiated settlement, acceptable to all parties concerned, is achieved and that all the refugees are repatriated to their homeland in safety."

In another development in the CPI's relations with fraternal parties, Mr. Rajeswara Rao left for Vietnam this morning accompanied by Mr. N. D. Sundriyal of the international department of the central executive committee of the CPI, at the invitation of Mr. Le Duan, general secretary, Communist Party of Vietnam. He will be there for a week during which he will have discussions with the leadership of the Vietnam party.

CSO: 4600/1744

INDIA

## CPI-M SEEN MOVING CLOSER TO CONGRESS-I

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Ashis Barman]

[Text]

IT is a widely-known fact that in the wake of the tragic assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi and the immediate, spontaneous communal menace that engulfed the country affecting Hindu-Sikh relations, the Communist leadership of both the parties have divined the danger to the country's integrity and independence sparked off by communal terrorism. The top leaders of both the CPI and CPI-M were instantly convinced that the assassination was inspired by imperialism, as had been practised by it against other anti-imperialist leaders and countries in the past.

Thus, at the directive of the top CPI-M leaders the Red Flag was made half-mast in honour of Mrs Indira Gandhi's role as an anti-imperialist and a secular leader. This sudden change towards the memory of the late Prime Minister enforced by the national tragedy, however, left a large number of CPI-M ranks and leaders amazed and confused. Fed as they were with anti-Congress sentiments since the CPI-M came to be formed in 1964, devoid of any qualified approval of the steps taken by the ruling party for the democratic transformation of the country since Jawaharlal Nehru's days, and the traditionally blind anti-Indira Gandhi stance of the party, the amazement and confusion in the CPI-M was deeper than reckoned by observers.

A partly available address of Mr E M S Namboodiripad to the West

Bengal State Committee members, particularly directed towards the critics of the move to half-mast the Red Flag, added to other information gathered regarding the polit bureau's stand, seems to indicate a serious rethinking on the part of the CPI-M top leaders regarding the future national perspective for the party.

In his analysis of the CPI-M stand after Mrs Gandhi's assassination, Mr Namboodiripad asserted that the event denoted a qualitative change in the Indian political scene. To start with, he avowed that the assassination "was the beginning of a phase when imperialism had decided upon to use terrorism against those Indian leaders whom it considers inimical to its own interests".

And Indira Gandhi, EMS elaborated, "had become a thorn in its (US imperialism's) flesh". The way Mr Namboodiripad formulated his points, it became evident that to the extent Mr Rajiv Gandhi carries forward this anti-imperialist tradition he would also remain vulnerable to similar imperialist intrigues. Not only that, other anti-imperialist leaders, whether in the Congress or in other parties, including the Communists, would continue to face similar danger to themselves.

Indeed, imperialism, helped by the domestic dark forces, engineered Mrs Gandhi's killing at that point of time in order to destabilise the country, since due to the Punjab

turmoil they thought it was the most opportune moment. The presumption was that the faction-ridden, disunited Congress would not be able to select a leader amidst the overall national carnage and confusion which were expected to follow the assassination. Hence, Namboodiripad pointed out that "the reactionary cricles' desperation to murder her stemmed from the hope and design to plunge the entire country into a communal and divisive conflagration in the wake of her assassination". This was the importance of the timing.

True, neither EMS nor the other polit bureau leaders who had analysed the overall political situation before the State committee after Mrs Gandhi's assassination could quite convincingly answer the question why the CPI-M had earlier failed to consistently underline Mrs Gandhi's unflinching anti-imperialist role, even while remaining critical to what it thought were the regressive aspects of her domestic policies. Since this failure was related to the Maoist hangover of the party — which is being dismantled cautiously — in addition to the party's endeavour to demarcate its political line from that followed by the CPI in the past on this issue, this default in the explanations offered was inevitable.

Yet, the analysis noted above of the post Mrs Gandhi situation done by the top CPI-M leadership, plus

other indications, tend to underline the fact that the CPI-M is trying to gain a new vision beyond its past blinkers. For these blinkers have become the stumbling blocks for any further democratic advance of the Left. Thus, the CPI-M leadership has publicly ruled out the possibility of trying to entice away the Kerala Congress from the Congress-led UDF Ministry in Kerala. In fact, EMS has gone to the extent of avowing that his party would not curry favour with communal parties in Kerala just to oust the Karunakaran Ministry.

Further, both EMS and B T Ranadive have warned the States to desist from raising unsubstantiated charges and threaten agitations on the score of alleged Central discrimination towards the States regarding allocation of funds. Both of them have maintained that the resources position of the Centre itself was far from happy, of course, due to the alleged capitalist path it has pursued. Under the circumstances, they would prefer cooperative gestures between the Centre and the States to tackle the developing resources situation.

This is certainly one of their reasons why West Bengal's Finance Minister Ashok Mitra, a vociferous propounder of the slogan of Central discrimination against West Bengal, is fading away from the scene. That at least is the general impression.

CSO: 4600/1743

INDIA

## PUNJAB ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED, DECISIONS BY OCTOBER

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Jun 85 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, June 26--The Punjab State Assembly stood automatically dissolved today at the end of its five-year term, raising the question as to what is to be done in the State that has already witnessed upheavals of unprecedented magnitude for the major part of this period.

A prolonged Akali agitation, which has not yet ended, saw during this time the rise of Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale as a dictator of a ruthless terrorists' gang that captured the Golden Temple at Amritsar and converted it into a dreadful arsenal, leading to an Army action at the shrine and liquidation of Bhindranwale's gang. Terrorists have continued to carry on their depredations, creating a situation in which the political life of the State has been totally disrupted.

It was because of this extraordinary situation that the Constitution was amended to provide for an extra year of President's rule in the State, which is due to terminate on October 5. The Centre has time up to then to decide whether fresh elections could be held in the State and a popular regime restored, or to again approach Parliament in its coming monsoon session with a new Constitutional amendment to seek a further extension of President's rule, which would be an unusual step.

But, presumably there is no alternative, since in the present situation with the Akali Dal president, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, having declared a boycott of elections, it is impossible that the State can go to the poll.

Of late, the Congress (I) party after its "mass contacts" programme in the rural areas of the State, has felt enthused enough to recommend that elections should be held, but clearly these cannot be justified by the circumstances prevailing now and with no political solution of Punjab problem in sight.

Meanwhile, the Haryana Chief Minister, Mr Bhajan Lal, has reiterated his plea for the merger of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh "as a solution to the territorial dispute between Punjab and Haryana as also to give a new dimension to the economic development of the three States".



Talking informally with reporters at Suraj Kund, near Faridabad, last evening, Mr Bhajan Lal said this was his "personal view", and that he had not yet discussed the proposal in the formal manner with the Congress (I) high command.

According to a Haryana Government Press release, Mr Bhajan Lal expressed his Government's eagerness to amicably solve the inter-State dispute between Punjab and Haryana. He said: "A simultaneous transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and Abohar and Fazilka to Haryana, in terms of the Indira Gandhi Award, and a reference on the apportionment of the Ravi-Beas waters to a tribunal would be acceptable to Haryana provided it was made obligatory for the tribunal to submit its report within a year".

CSO: 4600/1745

INDIA

ASSAM, NAGALAND REACH AGREEMENT IN BORDER DISPUTE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 27 Jun 85 p 9

[Text] IMPHAL, June 26--The Chief Ministers of Assam and Nagaland today reached an agreement for the second time on the border dispute between the two States, reports UNI.

At a three-hour meeting held at Raj Bhavan here, the Assam Chief Minister, Mr Hiteswar Saikia and his Nagaland counterpart, Mr S. C. Jamir, endorsed their earlier agreement reached on June 7.

The meeting was held at the instance of the Union Home Minister, Mr S. B. Chavan. The Manipur Governor, Gen. K. V. Krishna Rao, was present.

Our Correspondent adds from Shillong: The ASsam Chief Minister, Mr Hiteswar Saikia, is likely to institute a department inquiry into administrative lapses, if any, during the Merapani incidents in which more than 30 Assam policemen were killed on June 4.

The Inspector-General (Border) has been replaced and more changes will be effective. Mr Saikia is perhaps inhibited by the fact that a short Assembly session is round the corner.

The Imphal agreement urged the two States to normalize relations and preserve the status quo prior to a specified date. The North-East Congress (I) Coordination Committee's resolution, though laudable, appeared to be over simplified asking the Assamese and the Nagas not to blow the dispute out of proportion.

An administrative inquiry was unavoidable following allegations about certain units manning the outposts having "panicked" and resulting in an unprofessional performance which can include dereliction of duty. The border outposts were set up to check marauders, cattle-lifters and the illegal trade in timber. The police personnel were neither conditioned to face a "warlike" situation nor were they trained to launch a counter-offensive. Nevertheless the "lack of response" needs to be probed and vital aspects of training, including firepower and morale, may be reviewed.

CSO: 4600/1745

INDIA

## COMMERCE MINISTER TELLS PLAN TO PROMOTE EXPORTS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Jun 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, June 21.

**T**HE commerce minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, today announced an action plan for attaining the export target set at Rs. 11,736 crores for the current financial year (1985-86). The exports include crude and petroleum products worth only Rs. 470 crores.

The target suggests that oil exports will decline sharply during the current fiscal year. Last year, over Rs. 1,318 crores of the total exports of Rs. 11,297 crores was accounted for by oil exports.

The minister, who was addressing a crowded news conference, said the decline in oil exports would be because of development of the refining capacity of the Bombay High oil.

Even without oil exports, the target of Rs. 11,266 crores would mean growth rate of 18.8 per cent as compared with the provisional figure for non-oil exports at Rs. 9,478.6 crores.

Referring to the action plan, Mr. Singh said an itemwise detailed plan had been formulated which would be computerised and monitored daily.

The major measures being taken as part of the action plan are the setting up of separate body for electronic and computer software exports involving more private sector firms in engineering goods exports, the establishment of an Agricultural Products Export Development Authority and a spices board during the year.

The minister said a footwear design and development institute was planned to be established in Delhi. A special publicity drive would be launched in the US market.

Mr. Singh expected the growth of agricultural exports during the current financial year to be about 25 per cent. In 1984-85, the agricultural exports stood at Rs. 2,770 crores, including Rs. 950 crores, from the plantation sector.

Mr. V.P. Singh said Indian tea would be promoted in the West Asian markets through tea packets and bags.

A production target for 665 million kg. had been set for the current financial year. It was proposed to take up plantation in 4,300 hectares and replantation in 3,500 hectares of high-yielding variety.

In the field of coffee 42,000 tonnes would be exported to quota countries, 35,000 tonnes to U.S.S.R. and 15,000 tonnes to other countries.

The commerce minister said there was expanding demand for Indian goods in the Soviet market. India had also received positive response for Paradip iron ore exports from ore-importing countries.

Referring to export-processing zones, Mr. Singh said so far 30 applications had been approved for Madras; 11 for Falta, and three for Noida. All the three export-processing zones would be functional during the current financial year while the Cochin export processing zone would be operational next year.

Turning to export performance for 1984-85, the commerce minister said the rupee value of exports registered a growth of 20.2 per cent while that of imports a growth of 7.4 per cent compared to the previous year.

In terms of SDR, however, total exports registered a growth of 10.3 per cent and non-oil exports registered a growth of 9.6 per cent in 1984-85 as compared to 1983-84.

Referring to global trade talks, the commerce minister said the United States has agreed to discuss the services sector under a special protocol. However, the developing countries had made it clear that the discussions could be held along with other issues in GATT.

Mr. Singh and the commerce secretary, Mr. Prem Kumar, who had been to Stockholm recently to hold informal discussions with developing countries on the U.S. demand for inclusion of services in a fresh round of trade talks said that a conference of 127 developing countries would be held in Delhi next month.

INDIA

## ANALYST SEES 'ROOTS OF MALAISE' IN POPULATION EXPLOSION

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

THE much talked of Indian dilemma, a symptom of a deeper malaise, is often attributed by critics to a crisis of character and confidence. It is a fashionable way of explaining away what is basically an inexplicable feature of Indian life, which itself is a maze of many contradictions. A people burdened with a heavy backlog of problems, unable to keep pace with the changing times, cannot afford the luxury of such self-criticism, if they remain caught up in the immobilities of the past.

The result is a profound sense of dissatisfaction with one's own performance as a nation, bred by a gnawing feeling that, though much has been achieved since Independence, a lot has been missed for no justifiable reason other than faltering leadership and cross-purpose, leading to drift and loss of direction. The critics who revel in this introspection, no doubt, have the benefit of hindsight in identifying the lapses after the mistakes have been made often with good intentions.

### Wrong generalisations

The focus now is not on looking back cap-tiously at missed opportunities, but preparing the country to move into the next century with greater hope by rekindling the old spirit of Indian renaissance. The absence of a worthwhile internal debate to pinpoint the causes of its poor performance makes the task of infusing a new sense of collective endeavour into its developmental tasks doubly difficult, if not altogether despairing in its over-all context. The tendency to put almost the entire blame on any single aspect of the Indian dissonance for the country's frustrations has led to many disconcerting generalisations that have little relevance to the realities of life.

The people have to be made more conscious of the multiplicity of handicaps from which they continue to suffer for one reason or the other to create a better awareness of the need for a greater effort on their part to overcome such hurdles. The leadership must not get into the rut of counting only the blessings while conveniently glossing over the failures to draw a more agreeable balance-sheet of the country's

achievements. It is time that the people are told that India could have fared far better, if they did not get entrapped in the self-destructive diversions of communalism, casteism and regionalism which have sapped their morale and made them increasingly insensitive to the larger national interests.

It is no use blaming others for taking undue advantage of India's internal bickerings, when its own people are bent on undermining their unity and besmirching their reputation. A Festival of India abroad cannot burnish the tarnished image if in moments of mad frenzy the people behave brutally with bestial fury against their fellow citizens at the slightest provocation, ignoring all their traditions of compassion and tolerance.

A new sense of national pride cannot be generated by merely telling the people that they are the largest democracy, the second most populous nation, a country with the fourth largest army in the world, a society with the third biggest pool of scientific manpower, one of the 10 top industrialised nations and the stablest country in the Third World. It is time that the people are also told that in the ultimate analysis nobody does anything for nothing to help others, that even God helps only those who can help themselves, that they are responsible for their own destiny and that they cannot regain their lost values without mastering their imperfections.

This should be the main theme of the young Prime Minister's appeals to his people for an all-out effort to leap forward into the new technological age during his rule. One cannot think in terms of raising a new generation of Indians capable of absorbing the scientific miracles and withstanding the velocity of change to be able to usher in a new era of social benefits through rapid economic development. It is not possible to inculcate new values in a turbulent society like India without reviving respect for old traditions to sustain the pressures of rising expectations.

### Population explosion

The roots of the Indian malaise can be traced

to the population explosion which has generated both political and social tensions, rendering the country increasingly ungovernable with all its vast paraphernalia of a parliamentary democracy that has withstood the strains of recurring turmoils since Independence. It boggles one's mind to think of the demographic impact of population growth from 350 millions at the time of partition to more than 750 millions in a matter of three and a half decades imposing an unbearable burden on national resources.

The increase alone of over 400 millions within 37 years is much more than the total population of the whole of North America, Western Europe, the Soviet bloc or Africa and Latin America put together. The marxists who used to regard population as a natural asset have veered round to the view that no planned development is possible without some control on the increase to provide better utilisation of the available resources. The excesses of the Emergency rendered family planning a dirty word in India so much so that even after a decade the Government has not been able to regain the lost initiative in motivating the people to treat this as a social obligation.

The Government is faced with the problem of not only limiting population growth in future but also providing jobs and other amenities to those born during the Fifties, the Sixties and the Seventies who are entering the labour market. The green revolution has certainly helped in feeding the extra mouths running into hundreds of millions and avoiding chronic food shortages, but the irony of it is that a good many of them are without adequate means of livelihood to be able to buy the available food-grains. No matter how many new jobs the Government is able to create, the number of unemployed or under-employed continue to grow year after year, creating the kind of socio-economic disparities between the new rich and the new poor out of which revolutions are born in an over-politicised atmosphere.

The mere introduction of modern technology cannot solve India's chronic problems of poverty and privation, unless the Government is able to find some way of controlling the unmanageable population explosion. There has to be a hard-headed and not starry-eyed approach to agricultural and industrial growth, rural and urban employment, housing and education, social security and medical care to meet the minimum needs of the vast population. The privileged few who have made a profession of politics and continue to thrive on the spoils of patronage will have to mend their ways before they are overtaken by events.

#### **Not just benediction**

The malfunctioning of Indian democracy starts for the great majority of the under-privileged people at the very lowest level with no expectant mother able to get into a hospital to give birth to a child without some influence,

no child getting admission into a school without pulling a wire, no job-seeker getting employment without greasing a palm, nobody able to secure a roof over one's head without being fleeced by middlemen and none in a position to die in peace without the fear of one's family being harassed by tax collectors and others operating in the name of Government. These are harsh words, no doubt, but they portray a grim picture of the Indian milieu 37 years after Independence.

As Gandhiji used to say, God comes to the common man in the shape of bread, not just benediction. A Government by the same token comes to an average citizen through the local civil servant or the policeman, not the President, Prime Minister or Parliament. The man in the street is not bothered about corruption in high places, so long as he is not fleeced at the lower levels by petty functionaries of the Government. He is certainly put off as much by the vulgar ostentation of the local politicians as their over-bearing attitudes, but he resents the misbehaviour of petty officials even more since he has to pay his way to get things done.

#### **The only hope**

An old and badly run-down society like India cannot be reformed overnight with mere sermons or promises of a clean and responsive administration. The process of moral regeneration takes a long time to restore the lost values and establish more agreeable standards in public life. But at some point a beginning has to be made for eradicating the many evils that have crept over the years into the Indian system. The time is running out before the pent up furies and frustrations of the people start assuming ugly dimensions.

The one and only leader on the Indian horizon who can capture the mood of the people by responding sympathetically to their resentments and taking positive steps to allay their grievances is Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who has both the power and the opportunity to rise to the occasion. He has promised a lot during the elections, but has not been able to do much so far to live up to the expectations of the people, partly because of his other preoccupations and partly also due to the inherent limitations of the Indian situation.

He has displayed extraordinary courage and comprehension in coming to grips with some of the problems, but the very complexities of the other challenges like Punjab and Gujarat have compelled him to play for time without making a bold bid to settle them before they are ripe for solution. It is rather sad that, while striving hard to bring about a cessation of the civil war in Sri Lanka, he had also to work simultaneously to arrange a ceasefire in the "border war" between Naga and Assam policemen—and even induct a peace-keeping Central police to keep them separated for some time across the disputed battle zone.

A big burden on the Indian economy at present is the growing defence expenditure which is expected to reach the staggering total of Rs. 50,000 crores during the Seventh Plan. The ruinous arms race started by the U.S. military assistance to Pakistan has compelled India already to double and then treble

its defence expenditure in the last five years in the wake of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. There is no way out of this quandary unless India is able to persuade the U.S. at least to limit if not altogether suspend its arms aid to Pakistan, followed by some sort of a proportional freeze in the troop levels and deployment of forces by the two countries consistent with their overall defence requirements.

The internal problems of India cannot be tackled effectively without assured peace on its frontiers, and the new neighbourhood diplomacy should aim at eliminating frictions with them to the extent possible in the present circumstances. But no foreign policy can make much headway unless the country is internally strong and stable, calling for a closer correlation between the internal and external policies of the Government.

The country is big enough to ignore petty pin-pricks from its neighbours, or for that matter the calculated affronts of the great powers, so that it can concentrate more on the fundamentals of its own policy pursuits without distraction. It need not posture as a big regional power, much less pose as a poor country to attract foreign aid, so long as the policy-makers are clear in their minds about the country's enlightened self-interest in steering a middle course or occasionally giving the benefit of doubt to any one side in formulating its responses to different situations. The needs of the Indian people cannot be met with a principled foreign policy alone if it is not matched by equally credible achievements on the home front to ensure the country's unity, stability and orderly development. It is the absence of such an inter-relation between the internal and external policies that makes the Indian dilemma even more poignant at times. And as a shrewd political tactician, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has to develop his own style for blending these two strands into a well-integrated approach, relying more on his own instincts than on the advice of those around him.

CSO: 4600/1741

INDIA

## PLANS TO PRODUCE SURVEILLANCE AIRCRAFT TOLD

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 20 Jun 85 p 4

[Text]

Calcutta, June 19: India will start producing Dornier aircraft, both for commercial and defence use, at the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited at Kanpur from 1987, Vice-Adm. I.J.S.Khurana, director-general, Coast Guard told newsmen here today. HAL will be collaborating with the Dornier company of West Germany to set up a production unit in Kanpur, he added.

"A large number of such aircraft will be acquired by the Coast Guard for surveillance," Adm. Khurana said, adding that the first aircraft would be imported from West Germany and introduced in the Coast Guard in January next year. Two more Dorniers would be introduced in February and March while another three would be introduced in 1987 when indigenous production would start in Kanpur.

Earlier, speaking at the launching of the third inshore patrol vessel, Avvaiyyar, built by the Garden Reach Shipbuilders and Engineers Limited, Adm. Khurana said the Coast Guard fleet

was increasing and making its "presence felt on the maritime scene." Pointing out that 55 foreign vessels had been apprehended for "illegal activities in our maritime zone," Adm. Khurana said in a short span of seven years, the Coast Guard had added to its fleet two offshore patrol vessels, five inshore patrol vessels, four seaward defence boats, eight interceptor boats, a helicopter squadron at Goa and a maritime reconnaissance squadron based in Calcutta. Also, one IPV and one SDB were being constructed by the GRSE and were expected to be added to the fleet in July, he added.

The Avvaiyyar is expected to be commissioned during September-October 1985. Of the two previous vessels, one was operationally deployed in the Palk Bay while the other was expected to be commissioned next month.

In his welcome address, Rear-Adm. S.M. Misra, managing director, GRSE, denied rumours about retrenchment of workers from the workshop.

CSO: 4600/1735

INDIA

## SPACE COMMISSION DRAWS UP PLAN FOR 1985-95

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 22 Jun 85 p 5

[Text]

Bangalore, June 21 (UNI): A 10-year space programme, giving a major thrust to rocket launching technology, has been drawn up by the Space Commission for the period 1985-95.

The perspective plan which spells out "major Indian missions" includes the indigenous launching of advanced remote sensing and other satellites and the geostationary launch vehicle (GSLV) which is to follow the polar satellite launch vehicle (PSLV).

The plan envisages the launching of a series of satellites designated the "stretched Rohini satellite series" (SROSS). The first of these is proposed to be placed in orbit this year by the augmented satellite launch vehicle (ASLV), a corollary to the SLV series. Other satellites of the series are proposed to be launched in 1986, 1987 and 1989.

The PSLV series will be followed by the geostationary launch vehicles, a new series. The first developmental vehicle under the series is expected to be ready in 1991. Three subsequent GSLVs will be launched from Sriharikota rocket launching station in 1982, '93 and '95.

The detailed 1985-90 five-year plan of the space programme was endorsed recently by an inter-ministerial working group and the planning commission.

The perspective of "major space missions" planned for the

decade (1985-95) is aimed at interlocking the technological streams of space efforts for operational nationwide applications in communications, resources survey and management and meteorology, according to Isro sources here.

The perspective of the missions for the decade spills over to the Eighth Plan period after being covered in the Seventh Plan.

The initial Sross programme involves the development of 150-kg class satellites intended to monitor launch vehicle performance and carry out gamma ray bursts. The first two of Sross satellites were being built now by the Isro. The mission definition and configuration of Sross 3 were also completed.

While the Sross 2 will carry Indo-German remote sensing experiments with a payload from Germany, Sross 3 will be utilised for aeronomy experiments proposed by the National Physical Laboratory (NPL) and the Physical Research Laboratory (PRL). Satellite payloads for Sross 3 and 4 missions are under selection.

These may include a joint PRL-NPL aeronomy payload for the study of energetics of the thermosphere and low-latitude ionosphere and a joint Isro-TIFR (Tata Institute of Fundamental Research) X-ray astronomy payload.



IRAN

DETAILS OF RAFSANJANI VISIT TO SYRIA, LIBYA REPORTED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 25 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] At the end of his five-day visit to Libya and Syria, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, returned to Tehran at 4:30 this morning (Tuesday) and was welcomed at the airport by several ministers, representatives of the Majlis and a number of high-ranking officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The speaker of the Majlis, who was accompanied on this trip by Dr 'Ali Akbar Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs; Mohsen Rafiqdust, the minister of the guards corps, several members of the board of directors and representatives of the Majlis; and a group of political and military advisors, met during his visit to Libya and Syria with Colonel Qadhdhafi, the Libyan leader; 'Abd al-Salam (Jolud), a member of the command council of the Libyan revolution; Hafez al-Assad, the president of the Syrian Arab Republic; and 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, the vice president of that country, and exchanged views concerning the provocations of imperialism and Zionism in the region and ways to confront it as well as the imposed war of Iraq on Iran.

The political-parliamentary delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, after a two-day visit to Syria, left Damascus for Tehran last night at 23:30.

The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran was seen off at the Damascus Airport by the vice president of that country, the speaker of the people's parliament, Farouk al-Shara', the foreign minister, as well as the minister of the interior of Syria, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic and the representative of Imam Khomeyni in Damascus.

Before leaving Damascus last night, Mr Rafsanjani made a pilgrimage to the shrine of her holiness Zeynab. In the courtyard of the Shrine, Mr Rafsanjani was welcomed by a large group of people who shouted, "Blessings on Mohammad; welcome to the friend of the imam."

## Mr Rafsanjani's Press Conference

Yesterday afternoon, in a press, radio and television conference at the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Damascus, Mr Rafsanjani responded to the questions of foreign and domestic reporters residing in Damascus concerning issues related to the region, the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran in regards to the imposed war, relations with Syria and Libya, and issues related to Palestine and Lebanon.

## Second Round of Talks with Hafez al-Assad

The speaker of the Majlis met and spoke with Hafez al-Assad, the president of Syria, for the second time yesterday afternoon.

In this meeting, in which the accompanying delegation of Mr Rafsanjani and the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Syria as well as 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, the vice president, and Farouk al-Shara', the foreign minister of Syria, were also present, the first round of the negotiations continued and views were exchanged concerning the current situation of the region from the perspectives of Syria and the Islamic Republic of Iran and also the mutual relations of the two countries.

## Meeting of Mr Rafsanjani with Palestinians

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani also met and spoke at the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Damascus with high-ranking members of the Palestine national liberation front yesterday morning.

In this meeting, in which Messers Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs; Rafiqdust, the minister of the Guards Corps; several representatives of the Majlis; and the ambassador of the Islamic Republic in Damascus were present, Mr Abu Musa, on behalf of those present, expressed his pleasure in meeting Mr Rafsanjani, endorsed the positions of the Islamic Republic of Iran and, concerning the recent issues in Lebanon, said: By supporting each other, imperialism and Zionism are trying to create conspiracies in this region. Therefore, the holy war to liberate Jerusalem and Palestine is a religious and Palestinian issue, which is not only the responsibility of the Palestinian nation, but that of all the Islamic nations. Of course, the Palestinian nation will operate at the forefront of this movement.

Mr Rafsanjani said: We send the greetings, appreciation and thanks of the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran to our dear ones in the camps. Our position concerning the liberation of Palestine is quite clear.

There is no way for the liberation of Palestine except armed holy war, and while the Palestinians are not engaged in action, nothing will be accomplished.

The center of holy war for the Palestinians must be the Palestinians themselves. Other Muslim nations must join this center and anyone who wants to disarm the Palestinians would be committing a great treason against Islam.

Mr Rafsanjani emphasized that the important duty of the Palestinians is, instead of engaging in problems outside of Palestine, to extend their support inside Palestine.

Mr Rafsanjani added: In the holy war for Palestine, it is not only harmful to disarm them; more deadly would be for the Palestinians to put down their arms. If this should occur, there would be no one else to pick up these arms. And if their arms are taken away from them, they will not be able to procure them from anywhere else. Those who have lost their way on the path of holy war and have begun to think about solving the problem through the path of the United States and England have no right to support the Palestinians. The Camp David way will never lead to the liberation of Palestine and they do not have the right to speak for the Palestinians.

Continue on the field of holy war. Even though we are far from the borders of Palestine, we will continue our aid and promise you that when we are finished with the problems of the imposed war and the Ba'thist Party of Iraq, the problems of Palestine will be at the center of our issues.

I think that this conspiracy of the Palestinian camp, before being a conspiracy against Palestine, is against the Islamic Republic of Iran. They wanted to destroy the center of the Islamic revolution, which is in Iran; but God will destroy the tricksters.

Mr Rafsanjani also met with some of the officials of the Amal movement and several Hezbollah personalities of Lebanon, called their attention to the conspiracy of the conflicts in the camps and avoiding the decline of the power of combative Islamic forces, and emphasized the heightening of the struggle against Israel.

Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, in the continuation of his visit to Damascus, met separately at the Embassy of the Islamic Republic on Sunday morning with a group of clerics, Muslims and Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian combatants.

Mr Rafsanjani, after hearing their viewpoints, gave them directions concerning the situation of the region, their

sensitivities, and the conspiracies of the enemies to create disunity among the ranks of Shi'ite and Sunni strugglers.

In this meeting, which took place with Shaykh Kaftaru the grand mufti of Syria; Sheykh Sa'id Sha'ban, the leader of the Islamic Unification movement of Tripoli; Shaykh Shams-al-Din the deputy speaker of the high Islamic parliament of Shi'ites in Lebanon; Shaykh Mohammad Husayn Fadlallah; and a number of Lebanese Shi'ite and Sunni clerics, Mr Rafsanjani expressed his sorrow concerning the recent events in Beirut, emphasized that global heathenism is frightened by the growth of Islam and said: Instead of the combative forces paying attention to the main enemy, they have aimed their arms towards each other.

He added: At present, there is a global conspiracy against Islam and Muslims underway and you Islamic clerics, both Shi'ite and Sunni, as well as the fighters who are related to you have a historic responsibility in this regard.

Mr Rafsanjani added: Besides the pressures that they impose from inside Iran through the imposed war, the counterrevolutionaries, propaganda and economic pressures on the Islamic Republic of Iran, the enemies of Islam now want to inflict a blow on us by instigating conflicts in Lebanon.

You must know that the blow inflicted on Israel by the Muslim people of Lebanon has been unprecedented in the history of this usurping regime. Hence, they are trying to somehow compensate for it.

In meeting with some members of the Hezbollah concerning their problems in regards to the views on fighting against Israel, the United States and other imperialist forces and their struggles against the enemies of Islam and Lebanon and also the recent conspiracies in Beirut, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani praised their alert position and their keeping out of the conspiratorial events in Beirut, praised their sensitive and self-sacrificing spirit and asked God for the victory of Islam.

#### Proposal for the Establishment of an Islamic Interparliamentary Conference

In meeting with the speaker of the people's parliament of Syria, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani proposed that in order to have more coordination between the parliaments of the Islamic countries, an Islamic interparliamentary conference be established.

On the second day of his visit to Damascus, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani and his accompanying delegation were invited by Mahmud al-Zu'abi, the speaker of the people's parliament of Syria, to meet

with him and the distinguished members of that parliament yesterday morning (Monday) at the parliament.

In this meeting, in which Dr Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs; Mr Ja'fari, the minister of commerce of the Islamic Republic of Iran; several members of the board of directors and representatives of the Majlis; as well as the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Damascus, were present, al-Zu'abi provided explanations concerning the procedures for studying the economic issues in the people's parliament as well as the position of the parliament in the system of the Syrian government. Continuing his statements, he referred to the role of the Syrian people's parliament in the interparliamentary [conference] and in this connection, he asked for more cooperation between the people's parliament of Syria and the Majlis in the interparliamentary conference.

In response to the statements of Mr al-Zu'abi, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani also expressed his pleasure in visiting the Syrian people's parliament and meeting the speaker and the representatives of this parliament and said: Your country is one of the rarest countries in that it has always been at our side since the Islamic revolution, and for this we thank the Syrian president and officials.

He added: Of course, we expected the same from other Islamic countries, because, as you know, we transformed Iran from an anti-Islamic front to an anti-Zionist front and a friend of Arabs. We expected Islamic countries such as Iraq to take advantage of this situation and benefit from the power that could be used by the Islamic Republic of Iran to defeat Israel and liberate Jerusalem. But we see that the rulers of Iraq, by invading Iran and imposing the war, have committed grand treason against us and the Islamic world.

Expressing his disappointment in the Arab reactionaries, who benefit from the aggression of Iraq on Iran at the instructions of the United States and, instead of a rational reaction to the imposed war, take advantage of the situation and make it an Arab-Iranian issue, he praised the role of Syria in regards to the imposed war.

At the conclusion of this meeting, Mr Rafsanjani invited the speaker of the Syrian people's parliament and a delegation of the representatives of this parliament to visit Iran and emphasized his proposal concerning more coordination between the parliament of the Islamic countries on an interparliamentary level and the establishment of an Islamic interparliamentary conference.

IRAN

IRP ORGAN LAUDS 'SOLIDARITY' BETWEEN IRAN, LIBYA, SYRIA

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 24 Jun 85 p 11

[Text] The four-day visit to Libya of Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis and representative of the imam in the Supreme Council for Defense, ended yesterday and he arrived in Damascus with his accompanying delegation yesterday. Considering the special role of Libya and Syria, as two progressive countries, in anti-Zionist struggles in the region and considering the special conditions of the region at the present, undoubtedly the visit to these two countries of the speaker of the Majlis, who is one of the main players in the policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is particularly significant.

In addition to the warm reception given the speaker of the Majlis by the Libyan and Syrian officials and the statements of the leaders of these two countries about him, his visit to these countries is another sign of the importance and the special role that this trip has in strengthening the mutual relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Libya and Syria. In his meeting with Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani in Benghazi, Colonel Qadhdhafi referred to the important points in the relations between Libya and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the issue of the imposed war and also the anti-Zionist struggles in the region, which show the complete coordination of the positions of the two brotherly and friendly countries in all issues raised.

In these statements, he asked the speaker of the Majlis that the Islamic Republic of Iran consider the imposed war to be the responsibility of Saddam and his regime rather than the Arabs. Colonel Qadhdhafi announced: The war between Iran and Iraq is a war between revolutionary and reactionary forces. He added that Libya, at the side of the Islamic Republic of Iran, is against Saddam and the reactionaries of the region. Qadhdhafi's statement that the war between Iran and Iraq is a war between revolutionary and reactionary forces is quite significant.

From this perspective, as Colonel Qadhdhafi emphasized, the Islamic Republic of Iran will never consider the imposed war as an imposition by Arabs, but considers it an imposition by Saddam and the reactionary regimes of the region. Undoubtedly, the actions of Saddam and his allied regimes in the region cannot be blamed on the Arab nation. The truth is that the Arab nations despise such actions and consider Saddam nothing but a stain on the reputation of Arabs.

What is interesting in regards to the visit of the speaker of the Majlis to Libya and Syria are the results which this trip will undoubtedly have on strengthening the relations between these countries and the Islamic Republic and also strengthening the front for fighting Zionism. At present, the countries in the region and the Muslim nations are threatened by the United States and its allies. Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani pointed out in his statements that the solidarity between the Muslim nations in the region can neutralize all these conspiracies and stop the United States in the whole region.

Such actions are strongly needed in the region and in the future, as well, such actions must continue until the influence of the United States is completely stopped and the cancerous Zionist cist is removed from the region.

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IRAN

TEN-POINT JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY IRAN, LIBYA

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 24 Jun 85 p 11

[Text] According to a report from the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT, at the conclusion of the visit of the speaker of the Majlis to Libya, a joint communique was issued by the two countries as follows:

1. Both sides emphasize steadfastness against Zionism, U.S. imperialism, and its puppet reactionaries and verify their decision to expand confrontation with all conspiracies against the Islamic world. Also, both sides emphasize aiding people's revolutions, particularly Islamic revolutions, and standing at the side of oppressed nations until they achieve victory, establish popular rule and control of the people over their destiny, liberate them from any sort of oppression and subjugation, and decide to reestablish the role of culture, Islam and Muslims.
2. The Islamic revolution of Iran emphasizes its support for the security and stability of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Also, the Islamic Republic of Iran declares its support for the Libyan Jamahiriya concerning that country's struggle to secure its right to defend the Gulf of Sidra as an inseparable part of the coastal waters of Libya.
3. Both sides condemn all conspiracies plotted and carried out against the existence of Palestine, including what is being carried out at this stage in Lebanon, with blows being inflicted on the Palestinian camps. Both sides consider this action to be the implementation of the imperialist, Zionist conspiracy and regard those who commit them to be the puppets of U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

Furthermore, these actions are considered conspiracies against the Islamic revolution of Iran and the 1 September revolution of Libya as well as conspiracies against the Palestinian armed struggle and the revolutionary forces of the Arabs and Islam.



Both sides believe that the Shi'ites are clear of such actions and invite the Shi'ite Muslims to seize the opportunity from the enemies of Islam, defeat the conspiracy, and put the instigators in their place.

4. Both sides stress their total commitment to activities for the complete liberation of Palestine and the elimination of the Zionist entity, fighting against which is to fight its existence and not its boundaries. They emphasize that serious confrontation with it and efforts to fight any compromising and treacherous solution whose goal is to harm the Palestinian issue will continue. They stressed their support for the Palestine liberation front and all the fighting Palestinians in order to provide the opportunity to that front to play its complete role of liberating Palestine, to fight any sort of effort towards direct or indirect negotiations or peace with or recognition of the Zionist regime, to resist the submissive and conspiratorial plans of the treacherous puppet regimes of Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan and the submissive Palestinian faction, which plans to give the name Arab to the above-mentioned plans in order to universalize them, and to fight the Iraqi-Egyptian alliance supported by imperialism.

5. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya stands strongly at the side of the Islamic Republic of Iran to confront the war imposed by Saddam and the fascist Ba'th regime in Iraq, which has been imposed at the instructions of U.S. imperialism, Arab reactionaries and Zionism.

6. Both sides declare their decision to establish the Qods army to liberate Palestine and create relations within the global Islamic revolution.

7. Both sides condemn any effort to reduce the price of oil, even if it results in the reduction of production, and ask OPEC to stabilize its prices and pay heed to the defense of the organization as a force of balance and protection of the interests of the members and the Third World nations.

8. Both sides express their support for the legitimate government of the national unity of Chad and also the struggle of the Chad nation to attain national reconciliation

Both sides condemn the racist actions of the Pretoria regime and stress their support for SWAPO, which fights for the independence of the nation of Namibia.

10. Both sides agree to the establishment of a joint political-military committee chaired by the foreign ministers of the two countries.

IRAN

IRP ORGAN COMMENTS ON SUPPRESSION OF MORNING PAPER

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 26 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful.

The newspaper SOBH-E AZADEGAN was suppressed upon the instruction of the interrogator of branch 18 of the Tehran Public Prosecutor's Office and its publication was prevented. Perhaps the issuance of this order did not take long for the interrogator. He may have even issued such an order very easily, in a matter of minutes. But compensating for the damages which have been and are being caused by this action will take a long time.

The interrogator of branch 18 of the Tehran Public Prosecutor's Office might claim to be carrying out the law, but in accordance with the press law, this is an act of great lawlessness, with particular political and social implications which must be pursued by the judicial authorities with the utmost seriousness and sensitivity.

In explaining the reason for the prevention of the publication of SOBH-E AZADEGAN, reference is made to lack of a publication license. However, considering the manner in which the action was taken as well as similar cases, we conclude that this is merely an excuse of the worst kind.

The first issue of SOBH-E AZADEGAN was published on 22 December 1979 and thus far 1,560 issues of this newspaper have been published. However, the interrogator of branch 18 of the Tehran Public Prosecutor's Office, after the publication of 1,560 issues of this newspaper, has suddenly realized that SOBH-E AZADEGAN has no license! If SOBH-E AZADEGAN were the only publication to be operating without a license, this pretext might be acceptable. But it must not be forgotten that the two important evening newspapers of Tehran also have no publication license, but they have not been treated in the same manner. Furthermore, the officials of SOBH-E AZADEGAN claim that for nearly two years, they have been trying to obtain a publication

license, and have documents to prove this claim, but the two years of efforts to obtain a publication license have been fruitless.

Therefore, if the interrogator of branch 18 of the Tehran Public Prosecutor's Office considers SOBH-E AZADEGAN's not having a publication license an essential problem and is engaged in taking a position and action in this regard, he must question and prosecute those who have failed to issue or are guilty of not issuing a publication license for this newspaper.

Here, the question is, should SOBH-E AZADEGAN remain closed and the problem be allowed to be forgotten or should the authorities, through a sense of responsibility and understanding of the issue, pursue the matter in order to rapidly solve the problem?

Any sort of negligence in this regard will strengthen the rumors that SOBH-E AZADEGAN was suppressed because of certain positions it took, whereas this should be the case, and newspapers must be certain that in their position taking, as long as they have not committed any crime and have not openly opposed the ideological foundations of the people and the bloody revolution of this nation, nothing can prevent their publication.

We believe in this principle and insist that the judicial system of the country must be so strong that if it sees a newspaper opposing the interests of the revolution and in conflict with the general trend of this movement, which is in principle for the people, it can prevent it in accordance with the law, without fear of any sort of protest made internally or abroad. But should we not expect the judicial system to deal with issues more logically under all circumstances, particularly given the circumstances of the revolution?

The interrogator of branch 18 of the Tehran Prosecutor's Office has put many issues to question, which should not have been done. From now on, with what sort of hope and assurance can the press continue their work? The press cannot and must not follow the "personal taste" of a group of people. This is essentially not in the interest of the revolution. Why must the press always be considered a fifth wheel? Can weakening the morale of the operators of the press at a time when the propaganda waves of oppressors are against this revolution from every direction be a correct action? If this mistaken action of the interrogator of branch 18 of the Tehran Public Prosecutor's Office is not soon amended, how can the judicial system of the country offer a logical justification for it? It has been said that the prevention of the publication of SOBH-E AZADEGAN was done for personal reasons. But the law and the judicial system in the Islamic Republic must be above being a cover for the imposition of personal intentions.

Undoubtedly, the judicial system makes a great distinction between a newspaper whose operators love the revolution and who, although they are not without fault, have good intentions and a newspaper that has cooperated with and aided the enemies of the revolution. But the recent action does not imply this point. It should not be supposed that criticism of the interrogator's position is an attack on the judicial system or that a one-sided criticism means the total endorsement of the other side, because essentially, we do not believe in such partiality and comparisons. But we raise the serious point that the publication of a newspaper must not depend on personal taste and that the judicial system of the country can resolve the issue by dealing with it logically and with dignity, taking away the pretext that has been provided for the propaganda of the counterrevolutionaries and the propaganda bugles of the oppressors, so that friends and enemies alike are assured that the Islamic Republic of Iran values the press, eliminates the errors of friends and will never forget the errors of enemies and those who stand in united support of the enemies against this revolution.

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CSO: 4640/644

IRAN

CALL ON SHI'ITES, SUNNIS TO 'AIM ARMS AT ZIONIST ENEMY'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 26 Jun 85 p 3

[Text] On the last day of his visit to Syria, in a radio message broadcast from the VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, asked the people of Lebanon to avoid the conspiracy designed to escalate the conflicts between Shi'ites and Sunnis and to aim their arms at the Zionist enemy.

The details of the message of the speaker of the Majlis are as follows:

In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful.

I am very happy for this opportunity to be able to speak to you, the oppressed and suffering people of Lebanon. Firstly, I bring you the very warm greetings of the beloved imam, who has always been extremely interested in the people of this area. Also, I would like to announce the full support of the people of our country for you.

With the leadership of the grand leader, Imam Khomeyni, the Iranian nation has always been present on the scene for the achievement of the goals of the people of Palestine and Lebanon on all scenes. I find it necessary to point out the magnificent ceremonies which were held some time ago during the blessed month of Ramazan in Iran by a population of nearly 30 million people.

In the face of the bullets, bombs and missiles of Iraq, the people of Tehran and the border towns of Iran cried out, Death to Israel and death to the United States, and supported your Islamic and anti-Zionist movement.

I must take this opportunity to mention certain points to be taken into consideration in your actions. The imperialist, Zionist enemy today tries, since all the ways are closed to it as a result of your brave resistance, to raise the issue of internal conflict, in other words, the Shi'ite-Sunni conflict. This

conspiracy, which has been carried out frequently by the oppressors throughout history and has always been neutralized by the awareness of Muslims, will not be fruitful for them this time either and must be eliminated through your awareness.

The principle of the unity of Shi'ites and Sunnis today is one of the principles that can protect us against the attacks of the enemies and can be a safeguard for the continuation of our path. Your resistance has shown that the enemy is helpless.

This was proven when your children, by carrying explosives to the columns of the Zionist and U.S. enemies, drove France, Italy, England, and the United States out of your country. However, there is always a group of worldly comfort-seekers among your ranks who call for compromise, and after every disappointment that you created for the enemies, through their compromises, they rekindled hope for the enemies.

You must always be armed. It would be unfortunate for you to set your weapons aside. Who would then take up arms against the Zionist and American enemies? You must be the center of the fight against Israel and Zionism and rest assured of our financial help. Even though today we are engaged in a war imposed upon us by the United States through Saddam Takiriti, we will not hesitate to give aid, and certainly, after this imposed war and the fall of Saddam, the issues of Palestine and Lebanon and the destruction and elimination of occupying Zionism will be at the top of our concerns.

Of course, weapons must be in the hands of the zealous, not in the hands of the compromisers. Weapons must be in the hands of those who fight for Islam and on the path of Islam against the Zionists, not for personal intentions and governing even over one small plot of land. This movement must be coupled with the idea that no harm should come to the independence of Lebanon. While protecting the independence of Lebanon, arms in the hands of faithful, zealous people must be aimed at criminal Israel. We hope that we will also be able to have good Shi'ites for your valuable movement.

I ask God to grant you victory over the Zionist enemy and to liberate us from the evil of Saddam Takiriti in order that we may be able to fight the enemies of Islam, the Zionists, at your side.

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IRAN

HOUSING BANK ACCOMPLISHMENT ANNOUNCED FOR CURRENT YEAR

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 11 May 85 p 19

[Text] Tehran: The public relations office of the housing bank announced:

In 1363 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985], the housing bank granted 438 and 82 loans and facilities [respectively] in the amount of 217.4 billion rials through its branches and banking units. The share in loans was 23.1 percent for Tehran branches, 38.2 percent for large cities, and 35 percent for other cities.

The large share of Tehran and large cities was due to the large number of applicants taking advantage of the privileges of the savings accounts eligible for loans in the period determined by the government (up to 20 March 1985) for the purchase of residential units.

Of the total loans and facilities granted in the 1984-85 year, the amount of 57 billion rials was placed at the disposal of 155 persons [in loans] and 22 persons [in facilities] in accordance with Islamic contracts. This figure includes 51 billion rials in civil partnerships for the creation and completion of residential units and the rest for the leasing with the option to buy of the units created by the banks, installment sales, interest-free loans and advanced purchase. Of the 51 billion rials in facilities which have been put at the disposal of the applicants in the form of civil partnerships, 26 billion rials were given to the owners of housing savings deposits and 9.8 billion rials to worker and non-worker cooperative companies. The remaining 14.6 billion rials concerned the government employees, those introduced by the Shahid Foundation, the armed forces and the manufacturers of construction materials.

The total deposits of the people in the bank by 20 March 1985 numbered 1,012,487 in the amount of 238.4 billion rials, of which 121 billion rials were new deposits, including 46.5 billion rials in housing savings deposits, 26.4 billion rials in interest-free

loans and current account deposits, and 58.1 billion rials in investment deposits [as published].

This announcement adds: During the 1984-85 year, the home building activities of the housing bank continued and construction operations began on 1,369 housing units in Kerman, Shahinshahr, Gorgan and Birjand, and 920 housing units were placed at the disposal of applicants in the cities of Tehran, Tabriz, Hamadan and Bakhtaran.

During the 1984-85 year, the amount of 14.4 billion rials in loans and facilities for the completion of 19,242 housing units by the workers' and employees' cooperative companies has been approved, which will be gradually paid according to the progress of the projects.

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PAKISTAN

PUNJAB FAILS TO ACT FRATERNALLY TOWARD OTHER PROVINCES

Karachi AMN in Urdu 15 Jun 85 p 2

[Column "From Jumma Khan's Pen": "The Elder Brother Dependent on the Younger Ones"]

[Excerpt] In Pakistan these days, Punjab is the elder brother who is dependent on the three younger ones. It is not self-sufficient in water, power and gas and depends on Sind for its imports and exports. It is a basic fact that Punjab is the largest province in the country, but the federal government receives a greater part of its revenue from Sind, most of which is spent on Punjab. Punjab hardly contributes anything to the money the federal government is spending on development projects in Punjab, the Frontier Province, and Baluchistan. Punjab gets gas from Baluchistan and electric power from the Frontier Province. If Punjab is an industrial province, so is Sind. If Punjab calls itself an agricultural province, the same is true of Sind. If Punjab exports rice, so does Sind. The same is true of exports of cotton, yarn, cloth, ready-made clothes, sugar cane and sugar.

Punjab, as the eldest brother, should have opened its doors to the unemployed of other provinces. But Sind has been providing employment for every province in the country, including Punjab. Sind has provided jobs and business opportunities for non-Sindhis, while other provinces have not provided equal opportunities for Sindhis. A hundred thousand Punjabi farmers are working in Sind, but not even a thousand Sindhi farmers have found work in Punjab. In the same way, there are not even a thousand Sindhi laborers employed in Punjab in response to a hundred thousand Punjabi laborers working in Sind. There are 50,000 Punjabis employed in government and quasigovernment jobs in Sind, but not even 5,000 Sindhis have found employment in similar jobs in Punjab. If 25 persons from Punjab print newspapers and periodicals in Sind, not one Sindhi works in any newspaper in Punjab. How much is Punjab, the big brother, taking from other provinces and how much is it returning to them? Is this the proper method of give and take? Sind has given refuge to more people from other countries and provinces than Punjab has done. Sind can be called the little Pakistan, where people from other countries and other provinces have been received with open arms. We did all this not in order to oblige other people but simply because hospitality is an essential value in the cultural heritage of Sind. Now, if a province becomes overbearing because of its so-called bigness, it will get a resounding slap in the face. We Sindhis are hospitable but proud. Our elected representatives

have already announced in the Sind Assembly, "We know how to ask for our rights; we also know how to take them."

Not that Punjab has not made sacrifices for Pakistan. It has, like other provinces, played its part in different areas, especially in defense. Perhaps it was the wartime service of the Punjabis that was meant when it was said in the Punjab Assembly that Punjab has given more for Pakistan than any other province. Now the question arises, if more Punjabis have been killed in the wars, who is to be blamed? Who was the commander of the army? Who started the war? Who won the victory? Who was responsible for the defeat? Had all the provinces been represented equally in the army, would the soldiers from other provinces have refused to lay down their lives for the country? Name one province whose inhabitants are not brave and self-sacrificing. The people of every province are capable of giving selfless service to the homeland. If Punjab dominates in the bureaucracy, all of the blame for the mistakes and follies of the bureaucrats will be thrown on Punjab. If Punjab wants to keep the armed forces in its control, it will get the glory of victory as well as the humiliation of defeat. Punjabis will be heroes as well as martyrs. Have the people of the Frontier Province, Baluchistan or Sind ever refused to work in the civil service or in the army? There is no dearth of strong and healthy youths in the smaller provinces. People want compulsory military training for all healthy adults in the country. But the big brother does not like it. Punjab only wants to be admired for its sacrifices in the battlefield. Who is to blame for the present state of things? The Punjabis should answer the question. In the words of the Sind chief minister, "We are willing to give all that we can spare to other needy provinces, but other provinces, too, must remember their duties. If they cannot help Sind to become prosperous, they should at least not make merry after depriving it of its share of river water."

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